ROMVLVS ROMA TARQVIN

ROMVLVS AND TARQVIN

First Written in Italian By the Marquess Virgilio Malvezzi;

And now taught English; by H: L.d Cary: of Lepington the second Edition.

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Will: Marshall sculpsit:

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

TO

THE MOST Sacred *Majesty* of CHARLES the first, Monarch of *Great Britaine, France,* and *Ireland,* &c.

GIve mee leave, SIR, I beseech you, to present your *Majestie* with a Glasse, wherein you may see your Soule: A good face may be discerned in a Glasse of Jeat; and if *contraria juxta se posita,* doe *magis elucescere*; if contraries doe best appeare, when most directly opposed; how can

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CHARLES *the Gratious* be better drawn to the Life, than by the deſcription of TARQUIN *the Proud?* How can the unparallel'd, CHARLES *the Chaſte*, bee better portraited, than by the deciphering of TARQUIN *the foule Raviſher?* How can the happineſſe your *Majeſties* Realms enjoy (and long may they enjoy it) under your *Majeſties* bleſſed Government, better appeare, than by the making knowne what Miſeries and Slavery the *Romans* endured under the Rule of TARQUIN *the Tyrant?* And how, SIR, can your Pietie, and religious Zeale, be better manifeſted, than by the ſelfe-deification of ROMULUS? who though it be true, he had the honour of being the firſt

Founder

Founder of a *Famous people*, yet *Non minor est virtus quam quærere, parta tueri*. Wherein to shew your *Majesties* Wisdome and Vigilancie, I need not expatiate my selfe. This Glasse, SIR, is originally *Italian*, and those your *Majestie* knowes are much better than ours of *England*, as made by better workmen, and of more refined Materials. This, SIR, is but the Copy of a Principall, which, I must confesse, deserves to be copied by a much more skilfull hand; but as it is, SIR, I humbly beg your *Majesties* gracious Patronage of it, and your pardon for my so doing, to

Your Majesties

Humble and Loyall Subject, and therein most happy,

LEPINGTON.

Founder of a Queen's Library,
yet Mæcenas of universal
Learning, permit me. Wherein
to shew your Majesty's Wis-
dome and Vigilancie, I need
not expatiate my Talk. This
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Your Majesties

Humble and Loyal Subject,

To the favourable READER.

THis Booke in its native Language, I dare boldly affirme, doth very well deserve the reading; if it shall not seeme to thee to doe so, being thus transplanted, the fault is either thine, or mine; all of favour I will desire of thee is, not to be too sudden in thy censure; for beleeve mee, it will admit of second thoughts.

HENRY Lord Lepington.

To the favourable
READER.

HENRY Lord Delgrim.

To his much honoured, the Lord *Lepington*, upon his Translation of *Malvezzi* his *Romulus & Tarquin.*

It is so rare and new a thing to see
Ought that belongs to young Nobility
In print, (but their owne clothes) that we must praise
You as we would doe those first shew the wayes
To Arts or to new Worlds: You have begun:
Taught travell'd youth what 'tis it should have done:
For't has indeed too strong a custome bin
To carry out more wit than we bring in.
You have done otherwise, brought home (my Lord)
The choicest things fam'd Countreyes doe afford:
Malvezzi by your meanes is English growne,
And speaks our tongue as well now as his owne.
Malvezzi, be: whom 'tis as hard to praise
To merit, as to imitate his wayes.
He does not show us Rome great suddenly,
As if the Empire were a Tympany,
But gives it naturall growth, tels how, and why
The little body grew so large and high.
Describes each thing so lively, that we are
Concern'd our selves before w' are aware:
And at the warres they and their neighbours wag'd
Each man is present still, and still engag'd.
Like a good prospective he strangely brings
Things distant to us: and in these two Kings
We see what made greatnesse. And what 't has beene
Made that greatnesse contemptible againe.

And all this not tediously deriv'd,
But like to Worlds in little Maps contriv'd.
Tis he that doth the Roman Dame restore,
Makes Lucrece *chaster for her being whore.*
Gives her a kinde Revenge for Tarquins *sinne,*
For ravish't first, she ravisheth againe.
She sayes such fine things after 't, that we must
In spite of vertue thanke foule Rape and Lust,
Since 'twas the cause no woman would have had,
Though she's of Lucrece *side,* Tarquin *lesse bad.*
But stay: like one that thinks to bring his friend
A mile or two, and sees the journeyes end,
I straggle on too farre: long graces doe
But keepe good stomacks off that would fall too.

JO. SUCKLING.

To my much honoured friend, HENRY Lord CARY of *Lepington*, upon his Translation of MALVEZZI.

My Lord,

IN every triviall worke 'tis knowne
Translators must be masters of their owne
And of their Authours language, but your taske
A greater latitude of skill did aske.
For your Malvezzi *first requir'd a man*
To teach him speake vulgar Italian:
His matter's so sublime, so new his phraſe,
So farre above the ſtile of Bemboe's *dayes*
Old Varchie's *rules, or what the Cruſca yet*
For currant Tuſcan mintage will admit,
As I beleeve your Marquis by a good
Part of his natives hardly underſtood.
You muſt expect no happier fate, 'tis true
He is of noble birth, of nobler you:
So nor your thoughts, nor words ſit common eares.
He writes, and you tranſlate, both to your Peeres.

THO. CAREW.

To the Right Honourable his much esteemed friend, HENRY Lord CARY of *Lepington*, upon his Translation of *Malvezzi*.

SO swift is thought; this Morne I tooke my flight
To ruin'd Babel, *and return'd to night,*
So strong, that time (whose course no power could slacke)
I have enforc't so we forty ages backe.
To me, that great Disorder, and Decay,
Was both begun and consummate to day,
My selfe some strong Caldean Mason there,
Still sore with massie stones they made me beare.
Iust now me thinks I'm struckе for some command
Mistooke, in words I could not understand.
So lasting are great griefes, we still retaine
Remembrance of them though we lose the paine.
And that confusion did a griefe comprise
Greatest, in that it most concern'd the wise.
For these (who best deserv'd the care of fate)
The first great curse much lesse did penetrate,
Which makes us labour for our food so long,
Then this, which mixt or cancell'd every tongue:
'Cause now we toile and sweat for knowledge more
Than for the bodies nourishment before.
Knowledge: ere it did practise to controle,
No weapon was, but diet to the soule,
Which as her nourishment she might enjoy,
Not like Controverts, others to destroy:
And this her food, like milke, did nourish best,
Cause it was safe and pasie to digest.

which

Which milke, that curse on languages turn'd sowre,
And men scarce taste what they could once devoure:
For now we are preparing to be dead,
Ere we can have interpret what we read.
Yet he that for our bodies tooke such care
That to each wound their severall medicines are;
In noble pitty, surely hath assign'd
A cure for every mischiefe of the minde:
So this revenge (perhaps) was but to try
Our patience first, and then our industry:
Since he ordain'd that beauteous truth should still
Be overcast, and hid from humane skill.
Sure he affects that warre which Schoolemen wage,
When to know truth doth make their learning rage:
For truth is much more precious than our peace,
Though some fond Politicks esteeme her lesse:
Lazie obedience is to them devout,
And those rebellious that dispute a doubt.
But you (my Lord) must valiantly despise
Their threats that would keepe knowledge in disguise:
And toyle with languages to make her cleare,
Which is to be a just Interpreter.
And this selected peece which you translate,
Foretels your studies may communicate
From darker Dialects of a strange land,
Wisdome, that here th' unlearn'd shall understand.
What noble wonders will in time appeare,
When all that's forren growes domestick here?
When all the scatter'd world you reconcile
Unto this speech, and idiome of this Ile?
How like a generall Scepter rules that pen,
Which mankinde makes one kinde of Country men.

W. DAVENANT.

To the Right Honourable, the Lord CARY, eldeſt ſonne to the Earle of *Monmouth*.

VErball Tranſlators ſticke to the bare Text,
Sometime ſo cloſe, the Reader is perplex't,
Finding the words to finde the wit that ſprung
From the firſt writer in his native tongue,
The ſpirit of an Authour being fled,
His naked lines looke like a body dead.
Leſſe Criticke, more Iudicious, you preſent,
No Authour ſtrip't, but full of Ornament:
Or rather Galileo-*like deſcry*
Daily new Starres, and fix them in our ſkie:
Whoſe diſtance Davenant *ſhewes; How pure they be*
We heare by Carew, *but by you we ſee.*
Their vertue Suckling *ſweetly doth expreſſe,*
What I can adde, would make thoſe lights ſeeme leſſe;
Malvezzi *and your Lordſhip would decline*
From your true height by a poore praiſe of mine;
The beſt is then, ſo weake a braine can doe,
In their Gold-ſcales to weigh both him and you.

Your Lordſhips moſt humble ſervant,

A. TOWNSHEND.

To his much valued friend, HENRY Lord *Lepington*, Author of this Translation.

MY Noble Lord, no more of Lepington
Than of the Tuscan language and your owne
That have so polish't with your English file
This knotty peece of darke Malvezzi's *stile,*
And taken to the life his minde as like
As any face e're drawne by great Vandyke,
Faine would I praise your worke; but when I looke
On these great leading Names before your Booke
I'm silenc't straight, for 'tis in reason fit
To more Authentick pens I should submit;
Yet needs I must conjure you in the name
Of your wise Authour still, and by the fame
Of this your choice Translation, to goe on
And tell us David's *persecution,*
That so you may not by your Marquis be
Censur'd of any partiality,
But as both Gentile he oblig'd and Iew,
So he and they may both b' oblig'd to you.

Another peece of *Malvezzi.*

THO. WORTLEY.

Imprimantur hæc Carmina.

S. Baker.

Ex ædibus *Londini*,
Jan. 22. 1637.

To the Right Honourable, my Lord CARY on his *Romulus* and *Tarquin*.

THe Fortune that with humane pitty strucke
A wolfe to leave her young ones and give sucke
To Romulus, *was not so kinde as he*
That now preserves him to eternity
In this rich Peece, for which our world thinks Fame
Owes more to Cary's *than* Malvezzi's *name:*
For though we read th' Italian, and confesse
No Authour writes it with more happinesse,
Yet did not you, my Lord, your English call
The Copy, we should stile't th' Originall.
To him who threw'd the Regall Pow'r in Rome
He's joyn'd who lay'd that Title in his Tombe,
Proud Tarquin, *still a Ravisher, but how?*
He ravishes the Soule, not Body now.
This for your Lordships pure pen let me say,
Had Tarquin *courted* Lucrece *in the way*
He speaks here, she had not had pow'r to scape
His bold attempt, but sure't had beene no Rape.
I to our chaster Ladies doe appeale,
That to their chambers doe this Tarquin *steale;*
Whose acted Life in best Men ne're did move
More hatred, than his written Life gaines Love.
What Honours ought the Senate to decree
To their Malvezzi? *to our* Cary *we?*
Their owne deriding Pasquil *would abuse*
The Romane wisdome, if they should refuse

To

To Canonize, as 'tis in reason fit,
The Authour, for the Miracle of's wit.
And we are by like reason ti'd to keepe
The Feast of the Translation, else the Deepe
Would frowne upon our studies, and no more
Land such a forren Prize on our dull shore.

ROBERT STAPYLTON.

Imprimatur, *Thomas Wykes.*

Jan. 26. 1637.

ROBERT STATHAM.

THE AUTHOUR *to the Reader.*

I HAVE commented upon, but not yet fully finiſhed the Lives of the ſeven Kings of Rome. This of *Romulus*, if it like thee the Reader, is the beginning of the Booke; if it like thee not, the end; a few lines, but if bad, not few enough; every Entity is too great, whoſe formality is miſ-ſhapen; a few lines, but if good, many: the quality of Good, meaſures the quantity, and the intenſiveneſſe is that which extends it. I terme him mercenary, who in many ſheets bindes up a few precepts; the Readers patience payes him the full price for what he learns; & he is the worſt of theeves, whilſt

Against great & frivolous Volumes.

Arte. Life:

whilst he steales away Time which cannot be restored: Art is long, life short, which is more spent in reading than profiting, if men delight more to write than instruct: and to profit in the sciences of these dayes, a man must be a better *Atletas* than Academian, for the labour of the armes is no lesse in the largenesse of volumes, than is the labour of the braines.

I write to Princes, because I write of Princes: to entertain them with flim-flam tales, is to sinne against the common good; their grievances are cured by quintessences, they ought not to be nauseated with decoctions.

I have dedicated this my worke in my minde, but not publisht it, because I will onely have the Reader for my protector, nor doe I looke for any other reward, than to bee praised, or borne withall. Reader, if thou applaudst not my discourse, applaud my good will.

Romulus.

Romulus.

TO write of moderne men is a troublesome businesse; all men commit errors, few having competed them, will heare thereof; one must, or flatter them, or say nothing; to comment upon their actions, is to endevour to teach more by a mans owne example, than by that of others, more to him that writes, than to him that reades; more to be silent, than to be active: The actions of Princes have every other appearance, than that of truth; to relate them as they appeare, partakes of the Epique straine; as they are, of the Satyricall. Flatterers have yet moreover so exalted their good deeds, that the naked truth redounds to the blame of the relatour; for the truth of that praise which

one of many naked errors

which is heard, comes short
that which is beleeved; and so
there are who arrive at that heigh
as they leave no place for flatter
fansying themselves greater tha
flattery can make them.

Present actions are not wit
safety related, nor are they listne
unto without danger: well m
they be reverenced, never censu
red; who puts them in print, seek
after an uncertaine glory, expo
ses himselfe to a certaine danger
who leaves it to be done by poste
rity, reaps no other fruit of hi
present labours, than the meer co
templation of a future imagina
fruitlesse glory. Worldly glory en
with the world, and for what con
cernes us, the world ends with ou
lives: to have ones thoughts who
ly busied upon the good of poste
rity, is either a more than human
conception, or else a fooliſh one
to dedicate ones labours to glor
alone, diabolicall; to accompan
them with the good of others, hu
mane

ne: to have in them no ſelfe-re-
ſt, divine. I will avoid the trea-
g of ſo ſteepe and intricate a
h. I will write of times paſt to
time preſent. The defects of
Sunne, which are with ſafety
inted at, reflected in waters, are
without danger of the eyes,
ne in a direct line. I will write
re of man, than this or that man;
this or that man dies, and man
es; and my buſie *genius* venting
elfe in deeds of old, if they pur-
ſe me not the crowne of glory,
y will at leaſt ſerve for a Buck-
againſt envie. The actions of
Anceſtours uſe to be exami-
, not maligned, for we not
late, but imitate them; we wil-
gly liſten to the praiſes of ſuch
o gotten long ſince out of the
ch of envie, ſeeme by their
ds of fame to raiſe the weak-
ſe of mortality; and faults which
found in paſt actions diſpleaſe
, whileſt they take from the evill
nion of preſent times.

Envie

Envie

Envie, like poyſon, works not where it finds no heat; dead carkaſes are meat for crowes and wormes, not men. Death hath only ice enough to extinguiſh the fire of envie, and leave ſome aſhes of compaſſion: ſhe makes us ſee no one is ſuperiour to another, by her making of us all equall, and by her often changing (by a ſudden *Metamorphoſis*) the vermes of moſt happy, into titles of miſery and poverty.

death makes not respect monst psons

Romulus his valour, *Numas* pitty, *Tullus* his fierceneſſe, *Ancus* his goodneſſe, the vigilancie of *Lucumus*, fortune of *Servius*, and impiety of *Tarquin*, ſhall be my ſubject.

Procus

Procus King of the Albans had two sons, Amulius *and* Numitor, *the latter elder in yeares, the other of a more working spirit; the King left his Kingdome to the elder, but the fathers will, and brothers priority in yeares, were forced to give way to the others more daring spirit.*

THat Power which Princes make use of for the maintaining of Reason in the interests of particular men, they use the very same to destroy it, in what concernes themselves. Justice came downe to us from above, to withstand violence, mans weakneſſe be-

Justice.

bereaving her of her weapons of choice, make her assume force, to extinguish force, but she vanisheth with the planet of her birth, when the sword, which should defend, destroyes her. Princes sometimes keepe her untoucht by others, that they themselves may cõmit a rape upon her; they measure her with weapons, and when businesse comes to be concluded of amongst them, he hath the justest cause, whose strength is greatest; all other manner of proceeding, they thinke onely doth become such who either dare not use violence, or feare to have it used unto themselves. They thinke it no reason for him to command others, who is not able to resist the force of others; neither would subjects be better than their Princes, but equally unjust, were they not more compelled: they who can have recourse to the sword which Justice holds up in her right hand, seldome betake themselves to the ballance

ballance which hangs on her left side.

Nor hath the prerogative of Age any more precedencie in matters of State; men doe not wait for such yeares as doe destroy life, but such as valour may be grounded upon; the selfe-same weapons which Time uses to subdue the body, are by the understanding used to subdue time, whose tyrannie is avoided, whilst by the meanes of Fame it gets into the bosome of Eternity; but admit it should yeeld, yet ought we not to honour Time which only works our destruction.

Amulius *is not content to have unthron'd his brother* Numitor.

THe taking away of Kingdomes would be but little cruelty, did not the taking of them ingage a man to greater; the one

springs from the other, and the latter is more fruitfull.

He feares his brothers children. He kils the mates, nor does the female sex free him from feare; if she chance to have sons, he thinks he hath taught them the art of bereaving Kingdome.

THe Tyrant is afraid of every one, and it is fatall that he feares his owne example; for in that he feares every one, he is not exempted from fearing, in a manner, himselfe.

He thinks to fence himself sufficiently against fate without blood, by put-

ting her amongst the Vestals, to consecrate her virginity to the gods.

WOmens weakenesse serveth for innocencie with Tyrants; they meet with more difficulty, where they are least withstood; they cannot finde in them those faults which make their cruelty be praised; or faine such feare in themselves, as may not make them beare with them. They suffer them to live, beleeving that at their pleasure, they may put them to death; but oftentimes, through Gods infallible judgement, they are throwne downe head-long, as falsifiers of Wisdome.

Women are fit instruments to cause the losse of Kingdomes: nor is it a sufficient remedie to marry them to men of quiet dispositions, if they themselves be of a turbulent spirit; and say no feare

ought to be had of them, who can secure himselfe of the off-spring? Children, for the most part, side with the belly, and there change is easie, where are alike qualities: Nor doe the people think it shame, to change Lord, if they chuse one out of their Masters Family.

Amulius was wicked, I confesse, but he knew not how sufficiently to make use of his wickednesse, he bereft his brother of his kingdome, his Neece of her liberty, and tooke from neither of them their lives. I cannot well say, whether or no he did despise *Numitors* weaknesse, whether he built upon his patience or not, or whether his policy was to colour his owne wickednesse, by making the world see he had not a sufficient courage to governe a Kingdome, who had so little courage as to live, being deprived of one.

To take away a Kingdome, and suffer the King to live, is a cruell peece of charity, wherewith all

Tyrants whilst they goe about to deceive the world, they oft-times deceive themselves. The whole will easily meet together, the parts whereof are left alive. To set the Statue of Vertue upon a despicable foundation, is as much as to build a Colossus of gold upon feet of dirt: Piety becomes a King, for that his government is voluntary: Cruelty a Tyrant, for that his is violent; courtesie befits the one, force is requisite to the other: neither yet doth that secure him, he is not unlike a belly-god, who if he persist to eat, a surfet kils him; if he desist, a diet: if the Tyraut bloudy his hands without respect, he dies for being cruell; if otherwise, for seeming to bee pious; Vice, though in the midst of Vertue, is not secure, because shee contaminates it.

Vertue must be setled on a sure foundation.

Piety becomes a King.

Cruelty a Tyrant.

The wicked not way secure.

The young woman tarried not long amongst the

Vestals, before she was brought to bed of two sonnes, having had company with Mars, *as she affirmed, to the end that this her necessary errour might not onely, through the eminencie of the person prove excusable; but in some kinde worthy of commendations: the martiall acts of* Romulus *gave credit to this report; the people of Rome for their greater glory did increase it, and stranger Nations, for their lesse of shame, gave way unto it.*

It

IT is no shame to be inferiour in power, to what is superiour in nature; nay, were not the combat to be accounted rashnesse, to lose would bee accounted glorious, since the victory of the strongest party redounds to the honour of the weakest.

To make *Mars* the authour of sacrilege, was to save ones selfe from the severity of man, with the mantle of a god; even good Princes run often shipwracke upon this rocke, either in their owne credulity, or in that of their people, as being pious, or not seeming impious. A Tyrant laughs at all which not concernes himselfe; he more fears the power of men, than of God; otherwise he would not endevour to secure himselfe from the one, by that cruelty which doth more incense the other.

A Tyrant

Hee delivereth the young woman into the hands of the Priests, to be dealt withall according to the severity of justice; he commits the Twins to the charge of a subordinate officer, with charge to drowne them; but he endevoured to give way to fortune for their safegard, as also for his owne defence; he feared that Revenge which oft-times not being able to be taken against the Master, doth vent it selfe against the Officer.

It

IT is no wholesome counsell to trust another with the death of one descended of Royall bloud: he suffers him to live either through pitty, or policy: If he be compassionate, he knowes not how to be cruell: if politicke, he thinks the present times will not last long; his thoughts are busied on times to come; he hath one eye upon the Tyrant, another upon him that shall succeed him; and hee endeavours more to save himselfe, than to secure his Prince.

He exposed them therefore to the standing waters of Tybur, in the midst of a spacious shelfe, where when the river ebb'd, they were left upon the drie sands.

TO have the command of people, and to float upon the

waters, have such a proportion betweene them, as many Princes have in their tendrest yeares beene exposed to the fortune of this element, or in their riper yeares, have beene summoned to passe over it. Waters have somewhat of sympathy with the common people; they sustaine light things, suffer what is heavie to sinke; they are tumultuous and inconstant; easie to be withstood when calme, not so when troubled; their force increaseth when it meets with an obstacle, but who goes with the streame, goe the waters never so high, reapes profit by them.

this waters sympathize with common people.

The little ones lament, and to their whinings, comes in a Wolfe, or woman, in manner or name, conformable to such a beast, which gave them sucke:

there

there the ſhepherd Fauſtulus found them, and faſhioning unto himſelfe reall beauties, in the majeſtie of their countenances, as if the Stars did foretell to them ſome great good event; being ſmiled on by the one, and allured by the other, he reſolves to ſave them.

PRinces have ſomewhat more than other men in the majeſtie of their countenance, in their tutelary Angels, and in the influences of the Starres. Some call a Prince an *Hero*, Truth it ſelfe cals him a god, nor had the Gentiles ſeene much out, had they not by equivocating from the ſimilitude to the eſſence, added to the Name of

of God adoration; the common people, because they thinke him more than man, wonder if he be but equall to other men, are offended if he be inferiour: Princes ought not suffer themselves bee measured; who suffers competition, not sure to win, is sure to lose; somewhat of more than from others is required from him that hath somewhat of more than others.

A great deale required of Princes.

This Shepherd gladded, carried the Children to his owne house, and delivered them to his wife Laurenza, that shee might bring them up. The waters beare them up, a wilde beast gives them sucke, a shepherd

takes

takes them up, and joyes to be joyned a minister with the waters and wilde beasts in these adventures, which might already bee discerned in these miraculous events.

THe Heavens never send forth any great signes, which have ot a particular relation to some eat personages; for they are the niversall cause of all things, and hilst they produce effects, which me to have relation to one on- ; if he be a Prince, it hath an niversall operation; for the peo- e are partakers with their Prin- s in his gaines, losses, vertues d vice.

Or blazing starrs without cause.

They

They were not much advanced in yeares, when exercising their strength and valour amongst the woods, in the day-breake of their youth, might bee discerned the bright Sunne-shine of riper yeares.

Hunting commendable

HUnting is a kinde of warfare, and is more seemly than any other hostility, in as much as the dominion over beasts, is more naturall than over men. The pursuit of timorous beasts doth not become a Prince; it may peradventure advantage him in the knowledge of situations, but for ought else, it onely teaches how basely to runne away from those of greater power, or else to pursue with

poore

poore reputation, such as doe not
fend themselves.

These young youths did exercise themselves in the chase of fierce beasts, thereby inuring their bodies to hardnesse, and their minde not to feare danger: where the spoiles of the slaughtered prey serve for trophies erected to the valour of the hunter; in a short space they left preying upon wild beasts, and fell to pursue such men who barbarously preyed upon other men, where guided by valour, having

having wonne reputation, and being followed by a number of countrey people, they freed those parts from robbers, and made themselves chiefe head of all the neighbouring Shepherds.

there is no happiness where not safety.

MEn cannot live happy where they live not safe; therefore is it that Cities are built, that Princes are accepted of, and impositions tolerated. The ancient Idolaters, amongst the rest of their gods, placed him for one, who made safe unto them their leasure times.

These doe all honour due to a Prince, to those who did

did discharge the duty of a Prince.

VAlour is a dumbe eloquence, which drawes all men unto either for that they admire it, re it, or doe thereby receive be-fit: selfe-interest begins at the gh concave superficies of the oone, and penetrates even to the oreſt shepherds cottage; it had beginning with the world, that might first maintaine, and then roy the world; it is the morall losophy of the world, which netrates even into the most so-e parts: man would not onely dominate over man, but Ele-t over Element; and when the shall have compassed his in-, the other will have done so ; for the world will end with selfe respect wherewith it did gin.

Valour.

Selfe-interest.

A morall Philosophy of the world.

Such

Such as did live by rapin
did not well brooke th
actions of these brethe
and being desirous of re
venge, whilst Rom
lus and Remus did a
sist at the celebration
some sports, dedicated
the honour of god Pa
with more confide
than becomes any w
thinks it lawfull to a
fend others, they set u
on them: and taking R
mus prisoner, broug
him before Amuliu
notwithstanding his e
mity to theeves, as on
th

that committed outrage in his Majesties grounds.

O take from others the means whereby they were wont to , would goe hand in hand with ng away their lives, but that it orſe, in that it leaves way for nge, which continuall loſſe es continually be deſired: an ry in honour is of no force in ly minded people, it is of er enough in generous hearts; ſt it vaniſhes away with time, at which hath no other foun- on than opinion: in the death iends and allyes, thoſe who farre off, leave the revenge to e whom it moſt concernes; e who are nearer at hand, com- themſelves in the good they eby purchaſe, content them- es therewithall, and whilſt r minde is ſet upon peaceable oying, they forget revenge: To wrong'd in a mans livelihood, is

the baſer ſort ſilver not honour

Iniuryes done to any man, by him seldome forgot

is the onely injury which admi
not of oblivion, for present pover
tie is intolerable to him that hat
not beene thereunto accustomed
it cals to minde the former mor
plentifull condition; and loss
which is not the least in aggrava
ting offences, is the greatest i
provoking revenge.

The Shepherd Faustulus *by the calculation o times, was not ignoran of their birth, being i the beleefe thereof, th more incited by thei magnanimous acts, which did farre surpasse the soules of shepherds; nor had he for all this, inten tion of making their de scent known, till he were*

there-

thereunto constrained by lawlesse necessity, or by a faire occasion perswaded.

He would not ingage them in great affaires, before they had great power: when the obligation is greater than the meanes, man either dies unfortunately, or lives discontented; hee would not sowre the sweets of their Victories, with the wormwood of their birth; for whereas to bee the chiefe of Shepherds, was the greatest glory that could

Obligations must not be greater than the meanes

could befall the ſonne of Fauſtulus, it would prove a deplorable miſerie to the ſonnes of a King.

THat birth detracts from the merits of great actions, which obliges to greater. He is not glorious that is borne a Prince, but he that becomes one; nor is he to be accounted abject, who is borne a private man, but he whoſe actions make him ſo; that graine of corne is called great which is bigger than the reſt; and that mountaine little, which doth not exalt his head ſo high as others: A certaine wiſe man ſaid that God is a Geometrician; perhaps becauſe the world conſiſts more of Geometricall, than Arithmeticall proportion: Praiſe or diſpraiſe are not occaſioned by deſcent, but may well bee weighed together

with

ith descent; they consist in differing from them in valour, to hom a man is equall in nature; erein consists mans rancor; and e is not the aymed at marke of vie, to whom honour hath not ormerly had refuge.

Necessity administring occasion, he acquaints Romulus *with the businesse.*

TO know ones selfe descended from famous ancestors, serves a goad to those magnanimous pirits, who take it for a note of nfamy to be held famous for the ctions of other men; but serves ora chaine or clog to such poore indes, who hold it lawfull quiet- to enjoy the rest, caused by other ens labours; and glory in a long eries of hewen out marble, wor- y memories of dead mens acti-

ons,

ons, hatefull ſepulchres of n
nowne to ſuch as live.

When Romulus knew hi
deſcent, he was more vio
lently incenſt againſt th
Tyrant, by whoſe deat
he might appeaſe two
powerfull affections, th
one of Glory, the othe
of Revenge: He knowe
his forces too weake fo
open violence; he ha
recourſe to Stratagem
He took his way ſtraigh
to the Kings Palace, ac
companied by many o
thers, diſguiſed in poor
apparell, being come thi
ther

ther, and incouraged by his brothers armed neighbourhood, hee set upon the King, and slew him on that seat where hee had committed so many wickednesses.

A Tyrant is to all men hatefull; hee builds the whole bodie of his State upon the colums of feare; his ruines arise from either not fearing, or not being feared: confidence destroyes him, feare secures him not; and oft-times when he thinkes to abase mens hearts, he infuses valour into them; for the greatest daring proceeds from the greatest feare; to talke against him is dangerous, to kill him safe; the action is easie to be effected, which hath nothing of fearfull in it, but the act it selfe; it were more easie to kill a good Prince, if there were

not more difficulty in having killed him; it were more dangerous to kill a Tyrant, were not the danger lesse when hee is slaine; who doth not for revenge adhere unto the fact, adheres for glory; no man appeares enemie to him that killed him, because no man will seeme to bee friend to him that was killed.

Numitor, *who was not ignorant of* Rhemus *his descent, and who by just, at least justifiable pretences, had seconded the act committed, favoured by the guardianship of* Rhemus *committed to his custodie, seeming ignorant that they had assaulted the King, though*

the

the Palace, with intention of purging, not of taking the Citie; summoned the Albian youths to defend the Tower; but when hee saw the two young men come towards him, calling a Councell, hee related unto them how they had bin brought up, how borne, how exposed to the waters, and how saved.

The young men saluted their Grandfather with title of King, the which was followed unanimously by all the rest; as well

for that it is usuall in such assemblies, for all to follow, where a few doe but begin; as also for very commiseration, which never forsakes infelicitie.

TO have beene hated by the Tyrant, is desert enough to purchase the good will of the people; to them he who is in danger is alwayes acceptable; they would alwayes raise him up, whom they see kept down, they have compassion on any one that suffers violence; where the fire of tyrannicall hatred flames highest, there is that the waters of popular favour showre downe; all men doe more naturally desire to restore him to his state, from whom it was taken, than to adhere to him that tooke it; they have compassion on him becau

because there are but few that can use violence, and all those hate it that feare it; they helpe him, because a greater reward is expected for helping out of misery, than for applauding prosperitie: Envie remaines to the happie for punishment, and losse: compassion to the miserable for comfort, and re-establishment; to restore Princes into their estates hath alwayes the face of charitie, but if selfe interest concurre not therewithall, they are pitied, not holpen; and then the envie which hurts not, is punishment, though but a vaine one, to such as are fortunate; compassion, which helps not, is a comfort, though unprofitable, to man in misery.

Envye.

Compassion.

Romulus and Remus having made their Grandfather King, they turned their thoughts elsewhere.

MAny know how to give a Kingdome to another, who know not how to brooke a King; so uncouth a thing, it is to obey him, who through ones own meanes commands; to receive a Principalitie from another mans valour, is a kinde of servitude; which necessitates a man, either to shew himselfe simple, or ingratefull to satisfie their intolerable desires, is voluntarily to surrender up the Principality to them that gave it; not to humour them, is to hazzard the surrendring of it up to them by force; for it is an easie thing for them who got a kingdome for another, the same cunning not failing them, to get it for themselves;

ſelves ; who hath once with good ſucceſſe imbrued his hands in Royall bloud, feares not to venter the ſecond time ; and he who was deprived of a Kingdome, is alwayes ielous; and feares that which hee knowes is feſable ; how can the obligation be cancel'd which one owes to him who hath got a Kingdome for him, if it be not to be paid, but with the loſſe of the ſame Kingdome; 'tis great diſcretion to keepe farre from that Soveraigne, who cannot ſufficiently requite the obligation he oweth: benefits are alwayes willingly received, but the benefactours are not alwayes willingly beheld ; and when the debt is ſuch as cannot be paid, as if upbraided with diſabilitie, favour is often chang'd into hatred ; and then the obligation not being to be acquitted, they indevour to acquit themſelves of the Obliger : Service which is received from an inferiour argues weakneſſe, and challengeth great

To requite is to equalize.

recompence; to equalize the recompence to the benefit received, is to equalize the receiver to the Benefactour; the name of *Magnanimus* is lost, and the name of ungratefull hardly wiped off; those benefits which are received from a Superiour, are willingly acknowledged, for acknowledgment is all he expects, the which witnessing the receivall of them, obliges to an addition of more.

Benefitts from a Superior willingly rec.

These respects, the motives of ambition, and incitements of glory, caused the generously minded young men, keepe aloofe off from their grandfathers subjection.

Expectation of Ben. enimyes to Glory.

TO expect a Kingdome after anothers death, hinders or retards glory; mens spirits with yeares

yeares grow cold, and during the fathers life, that a man may live ſecure, he often-times muſt live idle; Princes doe ſometimes envie, yea, even the egregious deeds of their ſonnes, becauſe they feare them; private men rejoyce, becauſe they ſhare therein: amongſt the good fortunes of valiant men, their parents ſpeedy death ought to be accounted one; who after having brought them up, cannot doe better for them than die; a kingdome is not to be deſired, if it bring not glory along with it; glory belongs to them who have wonne it with the ſweat of their brow, not to thoſe who receive it calmly from another; valiant men who are borne fortunate, are unfortunate; for the inheritance of Monarchies takes away the glory of acquiring them.

They goe about to build a new City, or rather to

build the wals of that which their generous actions brought along with them; to this purpose they chuse that place where they were exposed to waters, as I beleeve, either out of memory of their fortune, or out of gratitude.

The places choice shews the builders wisdome; the first stone they lait is a Touch-stone, by which the worth of their metall is tried.

HE is not to be praised, who to withdraw himselfe from the downy bed of idlenesse, had

recourse to the brutishnesse of ſte-
ility; one ought ſeeke helpe from
education, not ſituation; that it
may appeare vertue, not neceſſity;
the way of Merchandize makes
men induſtrious, but withall timo-
rous; and that City is in no good
condition, the riches whereof
conſiſts, among ſome particulars,
not in the publike; where the ri-
ches is lockt up in cheſts, not in
the common-wealth, when dan-
ger comes, men know not how to
defend it, but ſtudy how they may
quit it; and ſuch eſtates as are por-
table, ſet their owner at liberty,
for they make them but inhabi-
tants, not ſubjects.

Nor can it be affirmed, that the
barrenneſſe of a place takes from
its neighbours the deſire of domi-
nion, which is the childe of glory,
not of avarice.

He that builds in ſtrong places,
erects fortreſſes for tyrants, at leaſt
neſts for vices; and they that live
in ſecurity, want that feare of lo-
ſing

sing their owne, which oft-times serves for just occasion to usurpe anothers right; and on the contrary side, to build open Cities without wals, was a melancholy humour of some ancient Philosopher, which neither deserves discourse, nor imitation.

Romes situation was full of health-inspiring hils, not too far distant from the sea, that they might receive commodities; not too neere, that they might shun the inundations of barbarous people; watered with a continually running River, placed in the midst of Italy. They were readie to raise

the wals of the Citie, when neither of them would yeeld in the naming thereof unto the other, nor in the making of lawes. Equality, the producer of envie, had much more force in them; for that beyond the common equality amongst brethren, they did particularise in being equally conceived, and equally at the same time borne.

WHen any excuse is to bee found, seniority is allow'd ; many would yeeld, if they could de pretence to doe so, and many mes men contend more out of ame than pride.

The

The mixture of greater and lesse is good, but that of equals, starke naught; either in the variety of nature it is not found requisite, or else it lasts not in the world; because it is founded upon the perpetuity of motion; and inequality doth by so much the more differ from tolerable, by how much it comes neare to equality; therefore is an unison displeasing in musicke, which though it were exquisite, is unfruitfull; it makes no action, produces no harmony; the greater and lesse, answer to the sharpe and flat; from those the world receives its forme, from these musicke her sweetnesse, and each are damnified by the contrary, if it be dissonant; profited, if it be harmonious.

Since they could not find on
earth how to decide pre-
cedency, they seeke it
Heaven

*Heaven by augurie*s; Rhemus *on the Auventine hill*, Romulus *on the Palatine; and whilst it is reported that six Vulturs appeared to* Rhemus, Romulus *shewes that number doubled to them that stood about him: some are of opinion, that from hence a contention rising betwixt them*, Rhemus *was slaine by* Romulus.

TO have an equall preferr'd by man, is a sufficient anxiety, t therein may be deceit; to have e like preferr'd by heaven, makes e anxiety greater, because it is alwayes

alwayes truth: This accident was the first canker that introduced man-slaughter, and the first man-slaughter was betweene brethren.

The more common opinion, notwithstanding is, that he lost his life in leaping, by way of derision, over the wals his Brother built.

Rhemus *by this action, either declared himself to be Prince, by pretending not to be subject to any Lawes, or else intended to take the principality from others, by making a mockery of the Lawes.*

Mi

Mis-obſervancie differs from contempt; the one reflects upon the inſtitution, the other upon the Inſtitutor; he who covertly tranſgreſſeth the Lawes, leaves the reputation of him that made them, untoucht; he who openly offends againſt them, aimes more to weaken the Prince, than the Lawes: Errors which are occaſioned by whatſoever other affection, may be great or little; thoſe who are occaſioned by contempt, are alwayes giant-like; ſome of them reflect upon the profit of the ſubject, and it is good to puniſh them; others upon the Majeſtie of the Superiour, and it is neceſſary to chaſtiſe them; Reſpect is the ſoule of Government; a Prince fallen to neglect, is a dead carkas.

Giving to the begun Citie, the beginning of his own name, he called it Rome, and

and instituted pastim
in the honour of Herc
les.
Lawes were yet wanti
to a Citie, which fu
fraught with dive
Nations, and of dive
manners, could not wit
out them receive unit

LAwes are of divers sorts, f
aime at the preservation
mankinde, others at the main
nance of the State; the former
long to ministers of law, as Ju
ciall; the latter to the Prince,
Politicall; the first requires fi
lity, because they are judiciou
considered before they be ma
but once being made, they on
not to be judged, since by th
judgement is made. The ot
sort to be good, ought not to

per

perpetuall, for that if they continue still in force, they ruinate the State: and if they be transgressed, as time necessitates, an ill example, without profit, is introduced; it sufficeth not, not to observe the old ones, when there is no way given to make new ones. The Prince is Superintendent over the Lawes, not in that he may not observe them, but in that he may change them: Transgressions in whatsoever kinde is naught; change in the latter is necessary; the same meat doth not befit the same man at all ages, neither are maladies by the same meanes cured in the beginning, after a whiles duration, and when they grow worse.

All things in this inferiour world have their periods; a man must change as time and occasion require; most of States have runne hazzard, for not being able to bare with their ancient Ordinations, and not knowing how to alter them.

Romulus

Ministers to execute corporall punishment amongst the Romans.

Romulus gives the Law; he strengthens them; force, threatned by; twelve Lictors who waited upon him.

LAw is of no use to perswa; if it have no power to puni; otherwise it is too little for th; that are naturally inclined to m; chiefe, too much for those who; luntarily doe well.

To Might, he addes Ma; stie, figured by the gra; habit which hee wo; differing from the ha; of other men.

ALL things (I had almost s; that which hath no entit; but is very nothing) helpe th;

no are of power enough in themves ; ciphers meeting with ciers make nothing ; but if they et with figures, they multiply ; e habit makes him not venera, whose actions have not forrly made him so ; hee hath no ajestie, but what the eye allowes m by being accustomed to see m clad like men of Majestie ; and by vertue of authority he occaons reverence, for want thereof moves derision.

Clothes were made to cover e defects of the body, now they scover the affections of the mind; ey were made to hide our weakse, now they lay open our amtion ; the Lord cloathed man, hen he disrobed himselfe of orinall righteousnesse, when he beme servant to sinne, and he (O olishnesse) glorieth in the engnes of his slavery, as if they were ophles of his victory.

Romes

Romes wals increase, bu
there want inhabitant
to people it, they pro
claime Sanctuary, whi
ther whosoever, havin
committed what faul
soever, might have saf
recourse.

Quietnesse in an enemie t
new built Cities, a
hope consists in motion
people who are not apt t
live in Cities, are apt t
fight in the field; an
who knowes not how to b
a good Citizen, prove
oft-times a good Sol
dier: Rome might ra
the

ther be called the Randevous of an armie, than an assembly of citizens, for it was not built for commodious living, but to be made greater by such, whose ends were not safety, but glory.

AN Armie is an *Academie*, where the wilder spirits are ciplined in open field, that they afterwards be brought within compasse of wals; to those command in Armies, Cities me distastefull, not to those that e in them as common souldi-; for the rigour of military obe-nce, makes the yoke of civill life me sweet.

t was not long ere it was re-nisht with Inhabitours; novel-is a light which hath the ver-to draw eies unto it, and power

to

to dash them. Men, because of n
cessity they must die, looke n
willingly upon such things as i
clining towards the Sun-set, bri
to their minds this necessity, b
willingly upon such as rising wi
the Sun, gives them beleefe of an
mentation; men write their nam
in tender plants, because th
grow; not in aged Okes, becau
they are cut downe.

Did not Noveltie bring with
so many prerogatives, the wo
would grow old with the fir
things wherewith it did begin; o
wits would be barren, were th
deprived of invention, whi
makes them fruitfull; our u
derstandings grow vilified wi
knowne things, and conce
things unknowne greater th
they are.

All such as did neither e
vie, nor feare Rome
flockt together, some f
safety

safety-sake, some delighted with noveltie, some perswaded by the desire of change, some of glorie.

SPritely wits are seldome content with the present condition. Felicitie is alwayes sought for things we want, which when we get, we finde her not; men cannot satisfie their desires, no not with the accomplishment thereof; they make they may once bee happie, when they can never be so; hence occasioned the hatred of tranquillitie, the desire of motion, the loathing of present things, and seeking after future.

The greatest part of this people came to amend the condition they were borne in, under the fortunate conduct of *Romulus*.

Noveltie hath power enough to draw men unto her, but not to keepe them; shee, when her selfe

suddenly is gone, cannot detaine others long, unlesse shee insnare them in the birdlime of profit, or take them in the net of ambition.

To this purpose Romulus *chose an hundred Senators for Companions, a number sufficient to governe whatsoever State, and equall to their number, to whom all other forme of others command would have beene insupportable.*

IN the beginning of governme every small Authoritie seem great; in the continuance there how ever great it be, it seemes li tle; whence it proceeds, that time those Magistrates are not dur

dured, which were too greedily at first created.

Libertie and principalitie are incompatible, they meet not together, or if they doe, they last not; every one seekes his owne perfection, which depending upon the destruction of another, they seeke it there: It seemes strange to the Senate, that they should bee free and yet serve; Strange to the Prince, that he should be chiefe Lord, and not command; the meane of Libertie is the mother of Tyrants, which being to them intolerable, whilst by violence it is taken away, it inforceth withall a violent government; to live quietly, it behoves either to be totally free, or totally tyed to servitude.

To Romes intire perfection women were wanting; they concurre to the essentiall constitution of

families, families to the like of Cities: Rome had more of forme than matter; Romans lived there, but there were no Romans borne,

WHere men live, and none are borne, death must ensue, and no new births follow: Parents live againe in the children, which they produce; man hath no greater desire than this, nor Nature greater necessitie; the species remaines, if not the individuall; the matter remaines, if not the forme: it is an errour of understanding, to beleeve that woman is an errour of Nature; she is perfect, since shee is made for the perfected of workes, she is of forme equall to us; originally composed of more noble matter than we.

Rome

Rome might be called a circuit of walls, not a City; it was rather a ſepulcher, ſince there being an impoſſibility of mans being there borne, they muſt there only die.

And who was there to bee found, who by granting them women, would cooperate to the greatneſſe of this people, and deprive themſelves of thoſe armes to extinguiſh them, which their ſinglenеſſe of life adminiſtred?

Romulus *was not ignorant*

of this difficultie, he notwithstanding sent Embassadours to his neighbours, either to obtaine some justly, or to take them away by force.

HE who is necessitated to use violence, hath first beene violenced by necessitie; of all Lawes necessitie is most odious, of all justice the most rigorous.

The neighbouring people, angrie that the Romans had received those whom they had driven away, deny to send them women; and some giving way to anger, seeme to slight

slight them with words, I know not whether fuller of ignorance or weaknesse.

THey are little to bee feared, whose tongues serve them for swords; greater is the danger which is threatned by silence, than the offence given, by over much talke.

Anger which shewes it selfe, is kindled in the spirits, not in the humours; and like powder it raises fire, but doth not retaine, it carries it out, keepes it not within; choler which vents it selfe by the mouth, doth not vent it selfe by hands; a mine which findes a vent, vapors away, makes no breach: to offend with deeds, is hostilitie; with words, malignitie; the one is profitable to the Enemie, the other fruitlesse; and damage is more supportable than evill speaking, because it is more reasonable.

The answer, which together with dammage, was accompanied with disrespect, caused no small indignation amongst the Romans; to make use of revenge, they betake themselves to dissimulation.

Romulus faines himselfe sick, they dedicate sports to his recovery, and prepare for them with magnificence.

The neighbouring people, together with their women, flocke to see the fight, thinking, belike, with

with safetie to present meat to the famished.

GReat was the errour certainly which was the cause thereof; since that too much weakness sprung from too great confidence, or too great rashness, from too little valuation; to deny the Romans women, yet bring them to Rome; to trust to them who they had despised; not to feare the violence of necessity, was one of those follies occasioned by curiositie. Curiositie, if devoted to the delight of sense, is not praise-worthy; if to the delight of the understanding, it may admit excuse; it is never free from blame, if accompanied with danger; too much and too little thereof, argue equall weakness.

Women are made to stay at home, not to wander abroad, their delights ought to bee, what delights their husbands, by participation, not proprietie: to bring

them abroad to Festivals, move
them that looke upon them, to un
dervalue them, if they be ill-favou
red; if handsome, to lust after them
looke how many friends they ge
unto themselves, so many enemie
procure they unto their husbands
within doores they may help, with
out doores they cannot but bee
trouble; their conversation if i
be pleasing to them, who there the
finde, is for the most part displea
sing to them that brought the
thither: Though they suffer not i
coveting, they suffer in being co
veted; if their company be shun
who wish your misfortune, wh
is theirs pursued who wish you
dishonour? The vanitie of me
herein, is more than it is of wo
men; they thinke to make the
selves be envied, and are caught in
noose, when at last in stead of envi
remaines compassion. It is true th
many value not what they posses
if others know it not, but it is
lesse value, if by making it known

they

they loſe it; Reputation is a choice colour, which feares the aire; it is a tranſparent Chryſtall, which is dim'd, being looked upon by ſuch as are laſciviouſly given: All occaſions of dangers ought alwayes to be ſhunned, where the danger trenches upon Honour.

The ſpectators were intent upon the ſports; when the ſigne being given, the young men of Rome laid hold upon the ſtranger-women; their friends fly, complaine of violated faith; they call for vengeancē to their gods, at whoſe paſtimes they were abuſed.

They ought rather to blame them-

themſelves than others, more for being cauſe of their being taken away, than for their being taken away.

IT is by ſo much more inſuffe-rable to loſe by deceit than by force, by how much it is better to be overcome by the body, than by the underſtanding: In force we have no ſhame, becauſe it is altoge-ther without us, but coſenage is by the policie of others, built upon the foundations of our owne in-conſiderateneſſe: Wounds occaſio-ned by force, are aſſwaged by their occaſion, Fortune; thoſe which are cauſed by deceit, are aggravated by complaining of the occaſion, Improvidencie.

Nor were the Virgins leſſe incenſt than were their fathers;

fathers; Romulus *perſwades them with arguments drawne from the efficacy of neceſſity*; *their husbands appeaſe them with faire words, drawn from the power of Love, which coupled with admiration*; *force was now no more complained of, being accompanied with the praiſe of beauty*; *the which being numbred amongſt the happineſſes of women, left them no cauſe to complaine of being unfortunate. Matrimony had already mitigated*

tigated the Rape, and the mariage-bed quieted the mindes of the Sabine dames, when their friends clad all in mourning, joyning anger to calamity, did incite their neighbours; and incensing the whole body of the people, they assembled themselves before Titus Tatius, a Sabine King, where the Councell being met, wee may suppose that one of them, who was abused at the aforesaid sports, spoke in this manner.

The

THe Romans demanded women, and you denied them; it was not ere an effect of chance, if you all agreed the deniall; are then the reasons of eir deniall now ceased, because they are iolently taken from you? ought that be anted to force, which was denied to ve? wee that were deafe to their inreaties, shall we be blinde to their vience? we refused to hearken their supplitions with patience, shall we endure eir outrages with stupidity? shewing em, that with us, whilst to take by iolence is safe, there is nothing dangerous but to demand.

They make necessitie a cloake for eir outrage; that necessity which had ont heretofore to be the shield of the unortunate, and the cheering, or encouraing of the fearfull, is now become the loake of those who are fortunate, and he incitement of the rash; they tooke rom us our Citizens under title of safeie; they first from us our women under olour of marriage; they will likewise eize our Cities by claime of dowry; as hey have had need of our daughters to

increase

increase their numbers; so will they
need of our Countries, to increase
estate. And say the desire of
should cease amongst the Romans,
once having offended us, will serve
provocation to them, to offend us a
times. Favours conferd on any one,
renewed, thereby to continue the
rie of the former: Injuries are
plied, to secure ones selfe for those alre
done. Hee who hath done wrong,
hardly become a friend, because he thi
the wrong'd partie can never become
friend: where friendship is not
for, and injury hath beene received,
thing but revenge is to be had; the
retarded prolongs, but makes the da
greater, by taking away the advan
of prevention.

Whatsoever is suffered by force, th
sometime good effects ensue, it
wayes harmfull, because either it
ceeds from envie or contempt: neit
doth patience serve the partie injured
ought else, but to make them more
lent who account it weaknesse; and
encourage them to offend yet more
now

ſly thoſe who eaſily beare injuries eady done; if the ſuffering of injuwould cauſe quiet, it would argue at wiſedome to paſſe by them; but thout any other profit, it makes the ured parties be eſteemed, or fooliſh, or wards; as if they either wanted wit know them, or courage to revenge them; ence men loſe both compaſſion and re, affections only able to reſtraine affions in worldly men.

Rome had her beginning in the midſt us, and we deſpiſe her; ſhee augmenh, and we nouriſh her; we give her , ſhe threatens our death: thoſe who her in her beginning, fore-ſeeing the nger that might enſue to their poſteri, left the care thereof to their poſteri; and as a thing which threatned all, ery one fell to behold her, none to hinr her: in common evils private men re not, and in future events, men looke helpe from Time and Fortune.

The eye which beholds noveltie, ves no ſpace for the underſtanding to dge the danger, till it bee ſo farre adnced, as there is no remedy for it; the

errours

errours of slothfulnesse are then discerned, when all diligence is bootlesse.

It is a false opinion held by melancholy men, to give the title of Wisdome to delay; most businesses suffer shipwracke, because occasions are hasty and men slow; men talke of the present time, when 'tis already past; moments ought not to bee neglected, when upon these moments, an eternity depends.

In things which are arrived at full perfection, if not their finall end, at least their decaying age may in time be expected; but in things which but begin to increase, to expect, is as much as to give time that they may increase. If a traveller meet with a River at its head, when it is yet but a small brook, he should doe ill to travell further along it, till he must ferry it over where it is become a large streame. Rome is a little River, our people like torrents flocke thither, we must fight, not discourse; and fight with Romans, before that Romans become a Race of Sabins, before our enemies be our kinsfolke: haste is the best remedy, where time is the greatest enemie.

This

his man having ended his discourse, wee may beleeve that Titus Tatius *answered in this manner.*

YOU ought either to have granted women to the Romans, or else have fought against their Citie, and gone into their sports with troopes of armed men, not of young girles. I expected they should have come within our walls to take them from us by force, had not you come within their walls to offer them to their rapine; hee who denyes another that of necessity he must have, having like-said intreaties, ought prepare for violence.

To endevour Romes ruine by force, was a wise consideration, but dangerous; for your owne more safeties sake, you resolved to deny them women: Good resolutions are seldome taken all together, in all things dangers doe appeare, and to secure our selves from evill, good is done by

by halfes; and the halfe of that gr
not good, which consisting in the w
admits of no division. To renew thi
now irreparable, and which cann
diverted, is to beleeve ones selfe gr
than the gods, and a labour without
fit, or rather accompanied with lo
since thereby we call to mind those thi
the chiefest happinesse whereof con
in forgetfulnesse.

Rome may be said to have its
and its increase from us, and it is fi
that fathers should lose in the having
children; drawing neerer to death,
giving life to others, if it be true that
generation of one be the corruption of
other.

'Tis true, there ought a remedi
had for the appearing danger; but I
commend the repairing of past err
caused by delay, with new, and gr
caused by impatience.

Injuries received, tend to the ruin
men, who with the zeale of honour
not accompany wisdome; they run
revenge for past wrongs, and thr
themselves headlong upon new miseri

y would amend one errour, and pro-
ce a thousand.

Too much haste is as much before
e, as too much delay is out of time.
rours of impatience are worse than
ours of delay; for it is better to shun
eipices, than to run upon them: if
y be not hindred, they are retarded.
stice is not beleeved to be there, where
lence is observed to be; nor can it be
counted wisdome, where there is no ar-
mentation. Argumentation is not had
an instant; Time is not measured by
stants. Wisedome is the daughter of
ld, Violence of Heat; things which
ve not beene done in times past, may
ll be effected in times to come; but
ings already done, cannot be undone
aine: occasions are never wanting to
en, but men are wanting to occasions;
ey may be expected, they ought not be
evented.

He who fights, egged on by Fu-
, beginnes his warre for having
st; hee satisfies his affection, not
s dutie; and is sooner beaten by his
n weakne sse, than by anothers valour.

Our

Our forbearance is to be feared, not despised; the world is his who hath patience, when it proceeds from sagacitie, not timidity. Generous spirits addresse themselves to endure present injuries, out of hope of future revenge; they reserve their anger to vindicate offences, not to evaporate passion. Dissimulation is not to be blamed, when by the injury of Time, it is not transformed into oblivion; dissimulation is never worse, than when it becomes forgetfulnesse, never better than when it resembles it.

It is more safe to hinder the increase of Rome, than her subsistance; for it is easier to let her wax old, than cause her die: increase is not there had, where there is no motion; nor can Cities in peace, increase and receive nourishment; new Plantations are augmented by the ruine of old ones; and tender plants, which are hindered by the shade and roote of neighbouring trees, want force to grow up: Rome cannot grow greater without the ruine of our Cities; nor can they ruine our Cities without warre: to wage armes to destroy her, may afford

matter

matter for her increase. All fires are not suppreſt by ruines, nor quenche by bloud; that fire which wanteth nouriſhment, wanteth life; and where of it ſelfe it muſt needs goe out, it needs not the ruine of others.

All induſtry ought to be uſed to have peace with a people, who can never have a worſer warre than peace: faire pretences are not wanting to cloake our receiued injuries. Neceſſity commits no offence, kindred are not enemies; matrimony is no rape; let injuries done unto the gods, be left unto the gods; 'tis they were injured, not men; and if men, not Cities; and though Cities, recourſe ought not therefore be had to armes; to revenge injuries, to reward good turnes, love and hatred are the affections of priuate men, Common-wealths and States haue ſelfe intereſt for the ſpheare of their actions; beyond the which they neither ſee nor heare, it is the obiect of their ſenſes, the mouer of their affections, the ruler of their paſſions.

The diſcord cauſed betweene

Titus

Titus Tatius his slacknesse, and the peoples impatiencie, was good harmony for Romes increase, for if she were likely to be lost, if set on only by the Sabine forces, what thinke you would have become of her, when they should have beene assisted by so many other confederates?

Sundry people assembled together to worke the same end, doe not alwayes endevour it with the same end; lines which meet all in one point, go not all the same way; they often meet, and yet differ.

These men will overthrow this frame, but because each one puts it upon anothers backe, none move it.

WHere there is store of pates there is store of confusion; many stones of not above three inches

inches thicke, may raiſe a height of a thouſand yards; but the uniting of many wits, ſerve not to the advancement of one underſtanding; they help not, they hinder one another; nor is it true, that two eyes joyned ſee more than one, if one ſee more than both diſ-joyned, when the greateſt ſpheare of the eyes motion, is underſtood to bee the greateſt diſtance.

In ſuch an aſſembly there cannot be ſo good a reſolution had, but will become bad, if obſerved but by a few; nor ſo bad, which may not prove exceeding good, if obſerved by all; wiſe men ought alwayes to counſell the beſt, yet ſometime follow the worſt, if the worſt be the opinion of the moſt.

The Cernetians, Cruſtumanians, and thoſe of Antenna, depart no waies contented with the Sa-

bins slow resolutions: and the Cernetians more impatient than the rest, enter the Roman territories to ransacke them.

THe desire of revenge is more eager than any other affection, yea, more than love it selfe, for that the bloud is more active in the arteries, than in the veines; Choler hath no commerce with Wisedome, she is companion to audacitie, shee levels precipices, makes mountains valleyes: The cholerick man feares not, because he looks upon the object only how he may offend it, not how he may by it be offended; his eyes are alwayes on the extremes; he sees not the middle; and oft-times fals, because he knowes not that he can fall; all his spirits flocke to assist him, making him beleeve he is able to doe more than indeed hee is, and hindering

on

one another, he oft-times is of lesse ability than usuall; he thinks upon nothing but how to quench that fire that burnes, nor findes he other water to quench it withall, than that of revenge; he runs for remedie to him that first did kindle it, that by his bloud hee may extinguish it, nor doth he stop, till it be thus fed, or by feare quite put out.

Romulus *makes towards them, teaching them how vaine that Anger is, which is not sustained by forces. He overcomes them, treads them under foot, kills their Leader, takes their Citie, and brings home his victorious Armie.*

Romulus *was no lesse da-*

ring in his actions than eloquent in his ſpeech; valiant in doing brave things, wary in aſſiſting them with faire appearances.

GReat actions have need of helpe, elſe they will be ſuffocated by ſimplicitie: where wonder is conceived, thence proceeds reverence.

It is eaſie to adde to the greatneſſe of actions by words; to truth by appearances, and it is not amiſſe. A Prince obliges himſelfe to things greater than he hath yet done, if he make them not ſeeme leſſe, than what they are beleeved to be; to adde to petty actions, moves laughter, and merits the name of vanity; to aſſiſt actions of a middle condition, cauſes admiration, and immortall fame.

He

Hee caused the enemies spoiles bee erected, and from top of the Capitoll did dedicate them, together with a Temple, to Jupiter Feretreus.

Whilst the Romans were busied about such solemnities, those of Antemna did in hostile manner forrage their Countrey: the Romans without delay, bring forth a Squadron of men against them, and easily defeated them, who of spoilers became a spoile; and they which lay in wait

for the goods of other men, loſt their owne Caſtle; but Erſiglia, Romulus *his wife, ſolicited by the teares of thoſe women which had beene violently detained, by profitable intreaties perſwaded her triumphing husband to pardon thoſe who were their parents, and kinsfolke, and to receive them into the City.*

THis manner of making the conquered companions; to receive for citizens, thoſe whom the ſame day they had ſeene as enemies; did make the waging of war more eaſie to other people, but made it more difficult to overcome in war; it increaſed the deſire of combat,

but

but took from the heat of fighting; where it was a queſtion, whether were the greater reward to overcome, or be overcome; whilſt they who loſt, acquired the honour of being a citizen of Rome.

Whoſoever ſhall reade the Roman Hiſtories, conſidering their wayes of growing greater, will either beleeve that they did ill, or elſe will blame thoſe who now adayes having Monarchies, and needfull of people, doe rather drive away former forrenners, than they are perſwaded to receive in new ones, whereunto they have by ſome beene ſolicited; but the diverſitie of circumſtances hath not given applauſe to ſuch counſels. The Romans by taking people of the ſame Province, may be rather ſaid to have framed one body out of many members, than out of many bodies; their being under the ſelfe-ſame clime, of the ſame language, and little or nothing differing in manners, freed them from

tumults: their union was the more secured, by their being all new, and tender, easie to be joyned together, as it fals out in young childrens bones: their love was the more secured by calling them to Senators places, and other commands in the Citie; for being straitned by wars, they were easily perswaded to accept of their enemies company, when being come to a greater growth, they refused the societie even of their friends: Strangers may be received for companions, where there is a forme of Commonwealth, or body of a Senate; but where there is an absolute Monarchie, they cannot be accepted of, but as servants. They therefore doe wisely, who having passed their younger yeares, in which it was necessary to receive into their bodie people of different language, climate and manners; doe not call in strangers to enjoy, or without all peradventure, to trouble what they have with their sweat wonne.

Those

Those of Antemna being vanquished, the Crustumanians take armes, and were soone overcome, fighting more out of feare than out of hope; disheartned and made weak by their neighbours losses.

THe glory of the first warres had its rise from valour, of the rest from reputation; to have overcome in these, availes as much as to overcome in those: An armie which feares to lose the day, is already beaten by its owne beleefe; each noise the enemie makes seemes victory; each motion of its owne men, flight; such an armie is more prepared for what it feares, than for what it hopes; and oftimes it leaves the field, more for

that it feares to lose, than for that it hath lost: he who alwayes thinks to overcome, fights alwayes; but he that doubts, defends himselfe, but fights not.

Romulus *knowing that things wonne by valour, must bee maintained by wisdome, caused the Senat bee assembled, where I may suppose hee spake in this manner.*

TO conquer people, and not know how to make the victory beneficiall; to win subjects, and not be able to keepe them in subjection, is a losse both of men and time. Providence is necessarie, and 'tis laborious.

Meanes are not wanting, but those meanes are full of difficulties; were there any infallible rule found, whereby to secure ones selfe from the rebellions of such

a

as are under him, I beleeve the world ere long would belong to one only man; but in politike affaires there is no rule but fortune.

To captivate mens mindes with rewards is impossible; servitude cannot be rewarded with any other recompence, than being set at libertie: to tye them by an oath, is no way safe; they are not subjects, whose power is only subject to wil; Liberty is naturall; servitude violent; what is violent needs somewhat, which from without may withstand it, if its beginning be not occasioned from some internall cause.

To raze the walls of strong Cities, when subdued, encourageth strangers to make themselves masters of them; to leave them standing, facilitates the insurrection of Citizens; and say it were a good advice for places that are within the body of the State; it is undoubtedly bad for frontier places, where it is hard so to doe, as that they may bee of defence against the enemie, and not subject to the rebellion of friends: he leaves mens mindes apt to commotions, who takes

not

not from them all meanes of defence.

Those who send Garrisons thither, or build Castles there, endevour to maintaine them by force, and often-times lose them voluntarily: they secure themselves from strangers, and put themselves into the hands of their owne people; over whom they lose the authoritie of command, because they lose the power of punishment; they free themselves from the danger of citizens, they submit themselves to the fidelity of a Captaine; and he, though he may thinke it ignominious to deliver up the Citie to an enemie, may thinke it may bee borne withall, if hee keepe it for himselfe.

Hee who builds Fortresses in weake Cities, depends also too much upon the too mutable faith of the Captaine; nor can they much hinder him that is master of the field, as being only usefull to curbe unarmed Citizens, of no use against armed enemies.

To send Colonies to worke this effect, more incenses the ancient inhabitants, and protects the new ones but for a small time: they are plants transplanted, they

soone

soone accommodate themselves to the Countrey, from whence their roots receive nourishment. They forget their originall in all things, save in their desire to be no more subjects, but companions. Men who goe from their owne homes, to plant themselves in new places, goe not thither to be servants to them who send them thither, but companions and equals to those who remaine behind.

To keepe armies still on foot, to suffocat sullevations in their cradle, is the greatest, and would be the best remedie, if then it were not in the Generals choice to make a Common-wealth a Monarchie, and himselfe Lord thereof.

He that were alwayes sure to returne victorious, needed no other meanes to secure himselfe; if enemies be vanquished, friends are retarded, because their feare is greater, and their shame lesse; but the successe of warre is uncertaine; and it is almost certaine that rebellions succeed overthrowes.

I should thinke the best course for the present, is to send abroad Colonies, by so doing, the Citie will be free from beg-

gars;

gars; nor will any courageous-fly minded man leave Rome, while she is bent upon glorious actions; and the people round about our walls being subjected unto us by keeping an Armie alwayes on foot, we shall secure them from their enemies, ourselves from rebellions.

According to Romulus *his opinion, Colonies were appointed for such places as were won.*

This meane while the Sabins waged war against the Romans; a war the more to be feared, by how much the later it was undertaken, being governed by reason, deprived of its first cholerike violence, nor sooner taken notice

notice of, than in the field.

The Sabins ſeeke rather to ſecure their State, than to vent their anger; they aſſault the Citie, not the Citizens, that they may bring it in ſubjection, without intention of revenge.

The feare of Romes greatneſſe, cauſes them to move: their rage for the committed violence, the originall thereof.

STates that enjoy reſt and quiet, becauſe they are in league and friendſhip with all their Neighbours, have great good fortune if they

they meet with any occasion of offence; and wise men in such like occasions seeke after them; for the common people will not be perswaded to more than what they see, they judge by the eye, not the understanding, nor is there any argument with them of force enough to gain-say appearance. To keepe friendship with neighbours is exceeding good; but hereupon to build the security of a State, is passing bad: they are well held for friends, if they bee considered as enemies; that so they may bee bound to love, and not able to hurt; the height of that building, which is delightfull and pleasing, when one thinkes to enjoy it for an habitation; is displeasing, if he looke it shall fall upon his head.

The Sabins by deceit get into the Citadel of Rome, having by gold corrupted

ted the daughter of Spurius Tarpeius, *Captaine thereof; not without the death of the trecherous young woman; whether it were out of hatred of the treason, or did they feare mischiefe by the example, or were it for that they did expect great glory, by making men beleeve they had wonne it by force, and not by fraud.*

THE obligation which remaines, sowres the sweet of a benefit, which either is rewarded, and then as good a turne is done to the benefactour, or else the badge of ingratitude remaines, which is equall

equall ſhame to the benefit received: thoſe benefits ſeeme ſweet which are received by treaſon, which is a thing ſo hatefull, as it takes all merit from whatſoever action: A traytour cannot finde fault without accuſing himſelfe; ingratitude becomes praiſe, reward blame; and thus depriving men of hope, a new benefit is received from being ingratefull.

The Capitoll being poſſeſt, the next day they give battell, in the plaine, betweene the hill of the Capitoll, and the Palatine hill, where by the death of Hoſtilius, *who oppoſed himſelfe to* Mutius, *the upholder of the Sabine ſquadrons, the Ro-*

mans

mans began to give back.

Romulus *borne along by them that fled, made a ſtand upon the Palatine hill; he vowes a Temple to* Jupiter, *and prayes to him for victory, wherein he is not wanting in his owne endevours.*

IN vaine doe men call to Heaven for helpe, when they withſtand the helps of Heaven; many doe invoke it, and yet doe hinder it; they require helpe from others, and doe abandon themſelves, and by their deeds contrarying their words, they ſhew not to deſire what they have intreated, and to have intreated that they might not be heard.

Romulus *gives on where the danger is greateſt; the*

the most hardie follow him; they drive Metius into a mooriſh ground, where both parties meet with all their forces, the one to ſuccour their Captain, the other to oppreſſe the enemie.

THe death of valiant Leaders is the loſſe of battels; the danger of death is the cauſe of Victory; all run to the battell, as well out of hopes of reward, by freeing of him, as feare of loſſe, in loſing of him; all dangers ought to be ſhunned, when the State is in ſafetie.

The buſineſſe was doubtfull, when amidſt blou and dead bodies the Sa bin women came running forth

forth, treading under-foot their own feare, with the feare they had of others; with haires about their eares, their garments rent, and turned towards their brethren, towards their parents.

TOo late, said they, is rape revenged, now when Violence is turned to Love, Rape to Matrimony, and by that Matrimony children are had; wee are mothers, we are wives; who is it you will revenge, if there be none that suffer offence, but in being revenged? You cannot redresse our losses, and you take from us our recompense; you revenge our long agoe lost Virginitie, by bereaving us of the fruits wee have thereby received; you revenge your sisters Rape, with the slaughter of your brethren in law; if you desire revenge, pardon the innocent; let them onely suffer death, who

who are the occasions of so great evils? Though we be without fault, it may in some sort be termed a fault, to have been the occasion of great mischiefe: Wherefore endevour you with your weapons to pierce our husbands bowels? they love your sisters, but we your enemies.

Cut off these armes, which have so oft served for chaines about their neckes; pierce these brests which give sucke unto your enemies: let the injuries of kisses and embraces bee cancelled by wounds and bloud. O how much more unhappie are we in being revenged, than in being ravished: deare husbands, cast away your weapons, suffer your selves to be slaine, in a warre where it is more glorious to lose, than to overcome, where victory is parricide.

Such like, and more ardent passions proceeded from the mouths and eies of the grieved Sabine women, when both sides made a stand,

ſtana, either inchanted by their laments, or induced thereunto by danger, which being equall, they ſtood more in need of interpoſal, than perſwaſion.

THere hath alwayes been a ſcarcitie of men, who love to interpoſe themſelves in buſineſſe; the ame of yeelding hath ruinated ore Princes, than the coveting to vercome; how many are there at have caſt away themſelves, for ant of ſome that would diſſwade em?

Heat and cold meet together in ke-warme; for contraries often yne, if they have a meane: But oſe who want a meane, never nite, but conſume one another.

the alreadie wearied affaires, and dangerous to all

all sides, wise men doe willingly intercede, and are rather the occasion, than the cause of accommodation, for hee easily suffers himselfe to bee perswaded by another, who was already perswaded by himselfe; contrary Elements, when they are weary of fighting, appease themselves in mixture.

FOrc'd mariages amongst Strangers, begin with warre, and end in peace, because they have those women alwayes as Mediatours for peace, who first cause the warre. Voluntarie marriages amongst friends, are worse; they serve for ballance to some pres-

acco

ccommodation; they begin in aughter, and end in teares; but hey are worſt of all, when they are violent, inforſt betweene enemies; or ſuch marches having not any one good moment, the tyes of love erve for incitements of hatred.

The uprore being ceaſed, the one and the other Captaine meet in the midſt to become friends; and as not hatred alone, but rather deſire of rule, had ſhare in the war, ſo had it alſo place in the peace.

OH the deceitfulneſſe of man, which makes the deſire of government ſeeme neceſſitie of revenge; there is too great a difference betweene the true, and pre-

tended cause, the formers thoughts
are wholly bent upon the State, the
latters upon particular persons;
the one after a little vent, having
anger for its ground, vanisheth;
the other keepes still its station, be-
comes hereditary in our posteritie;
by acquiring what it desires, it in-
creaseth; the end serves for a begin-
ning, and sometime serves for the
occasionall meanes, and for such a
covetous desire, the world is too
narrow: we doe destroy our owne
desires, wee hinder our end while
we doe endevour it, and as most in-
humane in the most humane affe-
ction, we kill those out of a desire
of rule, which being dead, cannot
bee ruled. What other passion is
there in man, by seeking to satis-
fie the which, part of that is lost
which is able to satisfie? This af-
fection was placed in all men, to
render the rule over all difficult to
one alone; nor would this per-
venture suffice, did not every one
hinder it in himselfe; facilitat-

his being overcome, by overcomming; our very body it selfe, whilst we endevour that it may live, wee bring it nearer death, so as we cannot so much as therein overcome our enemies, without losse of our friends.

The victory which by Physicke we obtaine over our diseases, weakens us more and more, and at the last, we lose at once with as much facilitie, as at another time wee were with violence victorious: we have need of as much force to keepe a State, as to win it. People which are overcome by bloud, in being subjected, make the Conquerour subject to service; by their losse they hinder his rule, they put a period to his victory: things sublunary are not eternall, because all who are actors by winning, lose and suffer by working. Those Princes may be called fortunate, who inherit their States: those wise, who finding them full of malecontents, winde themselves smoothly into

them: those most happie, who without losse of bloud by reputation only, or some such like meanes, make themselves masters of them; these like Rivers, the further they go, the greater they become, whereas they who have need to use force in conquering, lose it by using it; and like Bees, whilest they hurt another, lose their sting.

These end the warre, joyning together with their minds, their Cities; a more profitable agreement for Rome, because she therby grew greater, than would have beene the victory, which would have lessened her.

The Sabins would free their Countrey of one infirmitie;

firmitie; and drawing from out of her, her best bloud, they expose her to death by every little accident; they would extinguish Rome, and they make her greater; they bring stones, to stone withall, and they use them for building; the chiefe Sabins become Senators; Titus Tatius *partner with the King.*

HE might well enough have knowne by the example of *Rhemus*, that it was safer to be *Romulus* his enemie, than his companion.

Examples, if they be of actions which have had good successe, they make us more fervent in them; and

though of such as have had bad events, they make us not, notwithstanding cease to goe on, because men have greater hope of good fortune, than feare of bad; they feigne a likelihood, where there is none, and where it is, they make diversitie appeare, either to incourage, or not dishearten themselves.

Titus Tatius *suffers himselfe to be blinded, by being made companion in the Kingdome; he quits his ancient Scepter, where he ruled alone, to share in anothers; he drinkes the poyson, because the cups brimme is sweetned; he perceives not how Rome growes,*

because

because himselfe is the causer of it.

THere is nothing so pleasing to man as this, no cosenage that equals it; it is the overthrow of the wisest, the ruine of them that are most powerfull; we doe not in a straight line see in our selves things which are within us, but by reflection in others; ones owne beauty is not knowne without a glasse; and hee whom wee have raised to greatnesse, is the glasse wherein we see our owne greatnesse; his greatnesse is with contentment beheld; and greater he would be seene, not for that it is he, but that we thinke it is our selves; he is not suspected, because ingratitude is not expected from him; he is not feared, because his is not valued; to throw downe seemes to bee more easie than to build up; it is true, that Towers which are raised on high, may at ones pleasure be throwne downe,

but not men. Greatneſſe is not wholly to be attributed to any one, who was not the ſole cauſer thereof; when the ſubject concurs not onely paſſively by receiving, but actively by cooperating, we call it an helping hand, not an entire Fabricke; hence it proceeds, that when we thinke we Have reared a greatneſſe leſſer than our owne, we find that they themſelves have reared unto themſelves a greater.

Theſe two Kings reigned a long time together with concord and agreement.

I Wonder at *Romulus*, who not being able for a few dayes to beare with the company of an aſſociate given him by nature, did for many years beare with it in a Competitour given him by Fortune; but he perchance deſired the death of his fellow King might proceed from

from fate, or else expected what occasion time would afford him, that he might not discover his brothers murder did proceed from desire of rule, but zeale to Justice.

Present faults make past excuses of no validitie; for once a man may be wicked, and yet be thought good; the reiterating of vicious acts, causes them be beleeved to proceed from mans depraved nature, not from the necessitie of the occasion: wary and vigilant men make shew alwayes to be good, that they may be once bad to purpose; and this is a greater vice than others, because it borders neare upon vertue: what better could bee expected from him, who had no religion but selfe-respect, no desire but glory, no thought but how to rule alone, who could not suffer his brothers company, the Senates assistance, who for that he would have no cause to feare God, would be beleeved the sonne of a god?

The King loves no companion; hee entertaines one, becauſe hee would have none: a Kingdome ſhould have two Maſters, if a King could ſuffer a companion; the government of two is not diſpleaſing to ſubjects, becauſe the number of the bad, exceeding the number of the good, they deſire what is bad, rather than what is good; ſo if they erre, they may have a place of refuge; if they offend, they ſhall be backt; the loſſe of one Maſters favour, is a ſure way to purchaſe the others good will; all things are lawfull, ſave what is lawfull; and were it not that a Citie is firſt divided, and then deſtroyed, ſuch a ſervitude would bee more favourable than libertie, at leaſt it would be conformable to cuſtome, which cals living licentiouſly, living at liberty: a Kingdome is the government of one, a Common-wealth, of many; the latter is loſt by leſſening, the other by extenſion; two good Maſters doe oftentimes turne bad

at two bad ones are seldome seen
o turne good: it were better they
were three, for so they might the
more easily be reduced.

Titus Tatius *was now in the fifth yeare of his reigne, when some of his neighbours slew some of the Laurentinian Embassadours.* Romulus *who till then had concealed any desire of discord with his Colleague, now suffers it to break forth, cloaked by Religion; and that hee himselfe might bee thought to bee pious, and his Companion impious, he publikely sayes, that*

that the authour of so great a wickednesse, ought be delivered up to the Laurentinians, but he could not compasse his desire, nor perhaps did he desire to compasse it. Titus Tatius doth not consent that they shall bee punished, shewing himselfe to be an obstinate defender of those who were his, though in things unjust.

The Laurentinians incouraged by this dissention, or were it Romulus that did incourage them, slew

slew Titus Tatius *as he was busied about some sacred action.*

THe Subject commits a fault, and the Master is slaine; there would be no wicked men, if there were no protectours of wicked men; permission is protection. The first faults are theirs who doe them, the second theirs who permit them; and the Prince shares in all, if he punish not all.

The Sabins suspect that Romulus *had a hand in their Kings death, but hee as seeming to reverence Justice, and not to feare violence, neither made shew of too much joy, that hee might not seeme*

seeme impious; nor of over-much griefe, that he might not seeme fearful.

AN affected semblance of griefe, where the griefe may make appeare innocent, where the fault is dangerous, and the danger is of insurrection, in my opinion is rather a harmfull, than profitable advice.

It is an argument of feare, feare an argument of possibility of being offended; and the act suddenly succeeds such possibility either known or beleeved: who makes not his people feare, is made feare by his people; their tumults are easilyer allaid by undaunted men, than by wise men; for they more esteeme the brest than the braine, and are sooner compeld than perswaded.

A Prince can commit no greater errour, than to seeme capable of offence. What is possible is the only object of the will, nor doe men

men covet that which they thinke impossible to obtaine: feare ought alwayes to be had, but never to be shewne.

Romulus *renewes Truce with the Lavinians; and whilest hee makes himselfe sure of these, warre is brought home to his owne doore by the Fedenatians; but he assisted by artificiall cunning, suddenly overcomes them.*

TO say the truth, fortune favoured the Romans; all things concurred to their increase, many might, and none knew how to ruinate them: at first when it was easie to oppresse them, no one stird against them; when they were increased, in the common danger, every

every particular will of himselfe undertake the warre; and whereas all joyned together, had overcome them, each particular by them was overcome.

When they could not by weapons beat their enemies, their women worke upon them by teares, the last and fatall bulwarks of the walls of Rome.

I Am not of their opinion, who labour to prove that nothing but vertue had share in the Romans actions, and therein grow hot, as if to terme them fortunate were a badge of infamie.

Wherefore ought daring bee praised in a man, and not fortune; he hath no greater share in being bold, than in being fortunate; belike men beleeve her to be without man, because we see her not within him,

him, but ſhee is borne with us, as are other qualities; and if ſhee bee not an operation of the underſtanding, ſhee is at leaſt ſomewhat that moves the underſtanding to worke in due ſeaſon; ſhe is a kinde of Enthuſiaſme, ſhee makes him ſpeake well, that knowes not why he ſpeakes; ſhee makes him worke to purpoſe, who knowes not why he workes; a might and power of the laſt individuation of a temper, which workes not onely in the ſubject, but tranſmit her qualities forth thereof; whence are cauſed operations in us, uſefull to others, occaſioned by ſomewhat, which what it is we doe not know; and it is that mans fortune: ſhee is an incantation of the temper, as Rhetorick is of the tongue, and makes her ſelfe be waited upon by all the other parts of man; ſhee is called fickle, not becauſe ſhee ceaſes to be good, but becauſe ſhee gives way to a better.

The

The Veientanians slept in quiet, whilst their neighbours were together by the eares, not unlike men oppressed with a Lythargie, who sometimes waken at the houre of death.

THe splendor of that fire which burnes our neighbours, deceives the eye; it seemes faire, because it shines; it seemes good, because it gives light; the harme thereof is not felt, till losse be thereby occasioned.

They begin to ransacke the Country; they tarry not the comming of the enemie, and returne home: The Romans, when they found

found them not in their Territories, goe to the Citie Veia; the enemie comes forth to meet them, and to their losse give battell; the Romans forrage their Countrey: and finally, at the Veientanians request grant them peace for an hundred yeares.

Whilst Romulus, to call the Armie to a Rendevous, made an Oration in the field next to the Caprean fenne, a great and sudden storme of wind and thunder ari-

sing,

sing, he was no more seen; but being covered with a thicke obscuritie, vanisht from the sight of those who heard him.

The people did suspect that the Senatours (whom he had deprived of their authority) had slaine him.

TOuching the ends of men of might, Fame is alwayes sinister; as if death her selfe did feare to affront them, if not inforced; or because they have offended many, that is beleeved to be mans revenge, which is caused by Natures selfe; it may bee likewise they beleeve that art may have powerfull remedies against death, and that Princes being thereby taught, cannot dye naturally, but by excesse of old age.

The

The people make a tumult; their choler boiles apace, but leapes not out of the vessell; they shew themselves readie to follow any who wil revenge him; some Senatour, who at that time had made himselfe the peoples Leader, might doubtlessely have made himselfe Master of the Citie.

Julius Proculus came in, affirming that hee saw Romulus ascend up into heaven, and that his will was to be called the god Quirinus; the people

ple beleeve him, appease the tumult, and in stead of revenging him, prepare to offer sacrifice unto him.

THey detract from the merit of *Romulus* his actions, whilst they augment his nature; they lessen the wonder, and increase the reverence; they abase Divinitie, if they thinke it of so small esteeme; they vilifie humanity, if they think it not of so much worth; the common people doe easily deifie Princes; him whom they see greater than many men, they thinke him greater than Humanitie; they apprehend their *Genus* to be above that of other individuals; they beleeve Infinitie to bee there where they cannot reach unto with their eye; and from the superioritie of power, argue the superioritie of Nature.

Thes

These are the actions which were by *Romulus* done, in warre and in peace, who wanted not spirit to recover a Kingdome for his Grandfather, not counsell to build one to himselfe, nor wisedome to strengthen himselfe in Peace, which facilitated by his so many Victories, might be long injoyed by his posteritie.

Romulus lived glorious by reason of his great atchievements, and failing in the midst of them, before he had made triall of adverse fortune, he dyed fortunate.

Fortune is not sufficient to raise a man to greatnesse, if she be not accompanied with worth; and worth is vain, where fortune wanteth: they are, perhaps, more unfortunate than others, that are more fortunate; they are accustomed to see good events ensue, yea, even upon bad advice and counsell; and because they can give no reason of their good effects, they alwayes addresse themselves unto them without reason,

son, as if their past good fortune, were a cleare demonstration of future felicitie, and not rather an argument of approaching miseries, in a world where the star which in the morning is the Zenith to our head, is at night found to be the Nadir to our feet.

Vertue, when unaccompanied, is not discerned; counsell is onely approved by the event; and if vertue unaccompanied be discerned, it is either despised as unusefull, or pitied as unhappie.

If God should make the effects of all things succeed contrary to our wisdomes reason, men might perhaps beleeve the world were governed by chance; and if all things did succeed according to wisdom, I am afraid such is humane weaknesse as it would deifie her; whereas now, through the only light of Nature, it is forced to beleeve, that there is somewhat without or forth of us, in which all things are.

Those who have Vertue cou-

pled

pled with Fortune, aſcribe all actions to their wiſdome; nor will they acknowledge Fortune to have any ſhare therein, and indeed it behoves them to know, that ſhe hath a great ſhare in affaires, which makes them feare that inſtabilitie, which cannot bee apprehended from elſe-where.

Romulus was made great by Vertue, guarded by Fortune, till hee became great; Vertue, though faire, uſeth to be accuſed of fruitleſneſſe; Fortune, though fruitfull, of inſtabilitie; the ones labours uſually faile of fruit, the others gifts of beleefe. *Romulus* may well bee termed happie, whoſe vertue was fruitfull, and whoſe fortune permanent.

To compare him with any of the Ancients, the reſemblance betwixt him and *Moſes* is not to bee let ſlip; the one and the other in their births expoſed to the waters: *Moſes*, for *Pharaos* feare; *Romulus*, for that of *Amulius*; both

of them fortunately saved. *Moses* past his youth under shepherds attire; *Romulus* was educated amongst shepherds. *Moses* is the cause of *Pharaos* death; *Romulus* killeth *Amulius*. The one and the other were Leaders of People, the Introducers of Senates, Law-givers; and as they were alike in the beginning of their lives, so were they in their ends.

The Lord takes *Moses* from the sight of the Israelites, he leads him into a Mountaine where he ends his dayes; hee buries him, his death not being knowne. *Romulus* was taken from the eyes of the people, was led into some solitarie place, was slaine by the Senatours, and buried, his death not being knowne. A like case, from a differing cause, and differing end; because it was effected by different agents: God because hee saw the Israelites addicted to idolatry, that they might not adore *Moses* as God, would not suffer them to see his

his bones buried: Gods adversary, out of a desire to keepe and continue the Romans Idolaters, to the end that *Romulus* may be adored as a god, procures that his death be not knowne, nor his bones seene: the one, because he is not found, is not worshipped: the other is worshipped, because he is not found.

Romulus his morall faults, were the rape of the Sabine women, the death of his brother, and of his collegue; his politicall errour was only his indowing the Senate with so much power, and then his bereaving them of it.

The government of a State, is but a slippery path; one only bad action is sufficient to ruinate a Prince, who hath beene raised up by a thousand good ones.

I doe not remember that ever any Ruler sped amisse, for having left authoritie to the Senate, but oft for having taken it from them: If men commit errours, men ought to bee punished, and not the cal-

ling; and if the calling be feared, wherefore was it ordained? but it is not feare which causeth such wickednesse, it is the violent thirst after rule; otherwise they would not leave the condition, when they take away the authority; being no lesse subject to their possibilitie of reuniting, than of command: the institution and permission of Senators in the originall of commands, is not onely done that subjects may be content with their servitude; but because Princes are really satisfied with what they ordaine: It is the nature of beginnings, not the art of ruling. Who prepares for a great leape, is content to arrive at the side of the ditch, but afterwards stayes not there: mans understanding, because it hath not in this world any adequate end, coveteth as an end, any thing that seemes desirable unto it; and it hath no sooner compast that end, but it makes use thereof as a medium to arrive at

some

some other end, which was first hidden from it by the former, and continues to be the desired end till it be obtained; a little master-hood seemes enough, where there is none at all; but where there is but a little, enough seemes nothing, if all be not had.

Romulus in his beginning was followed by the noblest sort, because hee won upon them by conferring on them authority; in his end he was hated by them, for that hee incensed them by bereaving them of it. Hee cannot suffer the Senate which hee himselfe did institute, and because they would have him as a companion, whom they accepted for their Prince, hee would make them slaves whom hee tooke for assistant Officers: both exceed their bounds, they in obeying, hee in commanding. The Senate which is made to assist the Prince, thinkes onely how they may lessen him: the Prince who ought governe the Senate, seekes

to destroy it: that Magistracie in States is of duration, which is content to execute as a Minister, not to command as a Lord.

I have nothing of misfortune to recount of *Romulus*, save what was the occasion of his death; and yet therein hee was fortunate, because it was sudden. If there be nothing else of evill in death, but the troublesome cogitations of the minde, and the painfull torments of the body, both which doe precede it, that death which is sudden, preventing torments; that which happens soone, preventing the troubles of the minde, should be esteemed best.

There is nothing better in generall, than what is worst in the individuall: the foundation whereon the Colossus of the world doth erect it selfe to manifest its beauty, is death: it is the most solid part of consort, on which all descants doe depend. What would there be after the losse of originall righteous-

nesse,

nesse, if men did not die? the feare thereof holds in fortunate men; the hope thereof with-holds unfortunate men from wickednesse. Who should take away death, should take away the Corner stone from the worlds Fabrique, should take away all Harmony, all order, and should leave nothing but dissonance and confusion: the order of the universall, is contrary to that of individuals. The heavens which of their owne particular nature doe turne from West to East, are by the universall nature carried every day from East to West: Death can neither be bad nor painfull, if to die be naturall; for naturall things are good. I am of opinion, that to end ones dayes in decrepit age, is to fall asleepe, not to die: and fay to die were to be accounted amongst the worst of things, yet to be dead, were certainly to bee numbred amongst the best.

One must live, as considering he must live alwayes, not that he must

once dye: the Soule which is that which understands, ought not to thinke of death, for shee never dyes; and if the Soule doe not, the Bodie cannot feare it, because it knowes it not, as that which by meanes of contemplation, is a dead carkas before it be dead: Wherefore should the Soule rather feare, than desire the death of the Bodie, which is burthensome unto her? and why should not the body also be desirous to be bereft of its imperfections? it leaveth frailtie, to put on immortalitie; it dyes base, and may rise glorious; death is alwayes good, but appeares sometimes to be bad, because they are sometimes bad who dye; let a man live innocent, for he shall be joy'd at the remembrance of death, not terrified; and were not natures frailty subject to lapse, I should be sory she should be provoked to doe good out of the feare of death, or allured by the love of reward: the very foule ill favouredness of doing

ing ill, ought to bee a sufficient feare; and the comlinesse of having done well, a sufficient reward; and if a man would consider that rewards are received, he might consider what reward he hath alreadie received, when of nothing hee was created to immortalitie; nor am I any whit the more satisfied with well doing out of gratitude, but much when good is done out of love due to the infinitely lovely Nature of God.

Let us then say:

I doe not onely love thee Lord, because thou hast created me; but I will returne againe to nothing for thee. I doe not love thee, because thou hast promised mee the beatificall vision of thy divine Essence; but I will goe even into hell for thee. I doe not love thee my God, for feare of evill; for if it be thy Will, I covet it as the greatest good. I love thee, because thou art altogether lovely, because thou art all Love it selfe.

Lord, if I love thee not as I instruct others to love thee, assist the weaknesse of my nature, with the efficacie of thy helpes; Stirre up my understanding, direct my will; whilest to the Glory and Honour of thy great Name, in the which I desire to end my life, I put an end to this my Booke.

Where

Where the Author names Princes in wicked actions, he means Tyrants; and where hee writes of Fortune, he understands her to bee a cause unknowne to us; which as all others depend upon God, the cause of all causes.

The end of Romulus.

Where the Author
shows manner Princes
should shadow actions, be
means Tyrants, and
where like Writers of
Fortune, he makes
speech her to beg a
couple making to
us: which as all o-
thers depend upon
God, the conclud of all
can/es.

The end of Romulus.

TARQVIN THE PROUD.

BEHOLD a Serpent, *Tarquin* the Proud: hee is not alive, so hee might kill; hee is dead, and consequently may heale: he is not painted out only for delight, hee is described also for instruction; you shall see him made to bow by his owne proper fruit, who watered with the bloud of so many innocents, like to the Cedar, erects his head higher than all others. You Princes, or you, who ere you bee, that reade this Treatise, decline this Serpent, tend not this Cedar, which

which in the beginning may seeme to contest with Heaven; passe forwards, turne backe againe, and yee shall see him throwne head-long into Hell: that eare that shall take offence at the progresse of this acromaticall harmony of so many harsh Notes, let it expect to see it set to such a cadence so harmoniously, as may serve to salve all dissonances his Principality hath passed thorow.

It is never safer to write the actions of Tyrants, than under the government of good Princes; the dissimilitude of their manners will not permit them to beleeve that their actions are blamed, whilst the faults of others are related.

My booke, which otherwise is a Satyre of Tyrants, is a Panagericke of Princes; and if therein I sometimes praise Liberty, I compare it with *Tarquin*; I hold a good Principality as free, as a bad Commonwealth tyranous: all formes not corrupted are good, I onely know

that

that for bett which is poſſeſt, for all change is very bad.

Wherein could I better ſerve the now preſent Princes, than by putting their ſubjects in minde of the calamities of ſuch as have preceded them? People who now live, know not their owne good fortune, becauſe they are born in it. I doe not deſire they ſhould bee unhappie, but that they ſhould know they are happie. I like not that they make triall of Tyrants, but that they reade their lives; then will a good Prince be revereinced, when it ſhall be knowne that God ſometimes permits bad ones.

And wherein could I doe better ſervice to ſubjects, than in writing of a Tyrant, of *Tarquin?* If thoſe who write Tragedies, have thought, not onely to cauſe pleaſure, but likewiſe profit to Princes, they have beene deceived; they make them moſt unprofitable, when moſt pleaſing: then is the Tragicall perſon approved of, when

when he marches in the middle, betweene vertue and vice; then is the alteration of the Scene delightfull, when the change is made unlooked for; but such a person instructs not them, because he only teacheth the like, or else the contrary; but so unlooked for an alteration of Scene instructeth not, it terrifieth; since as the worst of Princes are subject to dangers, grounded upon reason, cannot the best withdraw themselves from events caused by Fortune.

They who write the Lives of such Tyrants, as haply arrive it the Haven, delight, but ruine Princes; they are well liked, because some would follow their owne sensuality, and be secure, as if they thence might draw precepts how to live well, and governe ill. I write a usefull Tragedie, the life of a Tyrant Prince, who reigning without reason, did with reason, to a wicked beginning, and worser progresse, joyne an end worst of all.

To prescribe precepts unto Princes how to governe well, hath in it somewhat of delightfull, but it is a laborious, I had almost said, a proud undertaking; they are for the most part *Idea's*, their being lyes in the Intellect, out of which they have no subsistance; they are coveted formes, and because impossible, not obtained. A point which in the abstract is individible, is divided into many parts in the concrete, may suffer infinit divisions: I thinke examples fitter for the managing of such an affaire, than precepts; they tend both to the same end, yet run not the like danger; and in examples, Princes are more pleased, when compared with a worser than themselves, than when with a better; if the party spoken of surpasse them, they listen to it with shame; with emulation, if hee equall them; but if hee come short of them, with glory. Bad actions related of former Princes, redound

to

to the praiſe of the preſent, if they be not found in them; and ſay they be, they make them yet bee borne withall. Detraction is applauded, and praiſe is not beleeved: in the latter, Truth purchaſeth the name of flattery; in the former, malice, the name of free ſpoken; whence it proceeds, that the lives of worſe than our ſelves, are both more willingly written and read, than the lives of ſuch as are better.

If I were fit to preſcribe rules to Princes, I could not chooſe a better meanes, than by propounding the life of Tyrants; it is much eaſier to ſay, a Prince ought not to be thus, than to ſay, thus he ought to be; the negative, than the affirmative: thoſe who too ſeverely reſtraine them within certain narrow limits, diſhearten, not inſtruct them; whence it oftentimes enſues, that having broken thoſe narrow bounds, and thereby thinking they have tranſgreſſed the Lawes of a good Prince, they become headlong.

long, as bad as who is worſt. The goodneſſe of Soveraignty doth not conſiſt in one individuall point, it hath its latitude; and ſo depraved is humane nature, that he is to bee eſteemed vertuous, who is without vice; hee exceeding good, who is not bad. All men have not the worth of *Cyrus*, and though ſome have it, they want the meanes of ſhewing it; to propound his life for imitation to one who hath not his endowments, is as much as to go about to erect the like building, where are not the like foundations. All may eaſily abſtaine from *Tarquins* vices, but all cannot imitate *Cyrus* his vertues; he who hath not wings cannot mount towards the skies; and who hath not the eyes of an Eagle, cannot looke upon the Sunne.

All things of this world are ſo knit together, that one depends upon another, and upon that, another; who ſo takes one linke from this chaine, breakes it. In a Prince who

who hath won reputation, courteſie begets good-will; in another who is fooliſh, it begets ſcorne, becauſe the linke of reputation is wanting; many lines meet in one point, many wayes lead to one place; he that cannot goe the troubleſome way, let him goe the eaſie, for if he arrive not at his journeyes end with ſo much praiſe, hee will yet get thither without blame.

To give inſtructions to Princes, it behoves to looke into their nature, and ſometimes to be contented to allow him good, when hee cannot be better.

Servius *was the laſt birth of regall power in Rome; after him ſhee brought forth nothing but a monſter.*

Tarquin *makes his entrance into the Kingdom* by

by force; hee may pursue therein with courtesie, but he will make use of cruelty: in the death of his wives Father, he shewes himselfe to be revengefull; in leaving him unburied, proud; in comparing him with Romulus, *irreverent.*

A Princes death, though violent, if his whole Race cease in him, is no impediment to the good government of him that succeeds, if hee be not a cause thereof himselfe, through his bad government: where there is none of the bloud, there is no head; where there is no head, people doe but murmur, they take no resolution; the greatest provocations to revenge, are either necessitie or profit:

profit: friendship is maintained with men, seldome with deadly kasses; and if it remain after death it is onely for compassion, not revenge. Princes ought then to assaile their Subjects with good turnes, not with weapons; the present moveth more forcibly, than what is past; and though ancient friendship may hinder some one from applauding, new benefits will retaine him from plots and machinations: one who hath received a good turne, either doth not budge against his Prince, or if he doe, is followed by none; his past ingratitude teacheth others how dangerous it is to oblige him: But what will you more? wicked men for a punishment of their mis-doings, are confident where danger is, diffident where securitie.

Those cruelties which tend not to dominion, are furious, not discreet; he who useth them is a cruell beast, not a cruell man. It seemes *Tarquin* did better love revenge, than

an rule; rather to have his hands
ounded, than his head crowned.
rinces are sometimes borne with-
l, if necessity of government cause
em be cruell; but if they be so by
stinct of nature, they are alwayes
ated.

Hee who feares hee hath taught others how to enter the Kingdome thorow that breach which he hath made by violence, kils all such Senators as were friends to Servius.

IF it be a hard matter to main-
taine tyranny, where a Tyrant is
riven out; it seemes impossible to
aintaine it, where a good Prince
expeld; in such a case the Go-
ernment cannot be preserved from
eing lost; for he that will kill all
he friends of a good Prince, must
ill all his subjects.

In

In the putting to death of one alone through cruelty, a Prince obligeth himselfe to commit many the like facts; the one springs from the other, and the last is always most fruitfull.

Hee doubts the trye of Allyes, he feares the hatred of their friends; and to free himselfe from danger, worketh new cruelties, which never render him secure, but put a necessitie upon him to commit greater.

HE who hath won a Kingdome by the sword, if hee lay not downe the sword, the sword will lay downe him; he is too great a foole who wil use the same food to continue health, which hee did to acquire

acquire it; and the Tyrant is not wiſe, who maketh uſe of the ſame meanes to governe a State, which hee did to poſſeſſe himſelfe thereof. This is not written that it ought to be done, but becauſe it uſually is done; it is rather the nature, than doctrine of men; they thinke that good alwayes which they have found once good. It is a precept convenient for Princes, not becomming Tyrants: goodneſſe preſerves it ſelfe with its like, naughtineſſe is reduced by its contrary; and ſo great is the power of good, and the weakneſſe of evill, that men have often a neceſſitie of being often good, bee it but to continue themſelves the longer bad.

Far be the ſword from the hands of Princes; pardon, not crueltie enforceth mens hearts; the latter uſed againſt one alone, begets the hatred of a thouſand; the former is not uſed without the addition of new friends. The Tyrants feare

increaseth with his power, and looke how many he commands, so many he stands in awe of; he is not worthy to bee obeyed, who useth not the meanes to be beloved.

I blame not Princes, because they make themselves be feared, but because they know not how to make themselves be feared. It is not likely that this desire of being feared should take so firme root in the greater number of Princes who begin to rule, if it were not usefull for government; it makes us like unto God: but men in causing it, suffer themselves oft-times to be deceived through ignorance, or miss-led through difficulty; and whilest they endevour to reach unto what is divine, they fall into what is bestiall.

Man in his nature is free, borne to command, at least not to serve; man is unbridled, uncurbed in his passions; he is first a creature, before a reasonable creature: the chiefest bridle he hath is feare, because it is the chiefest affection, if it

grow

grow not to ſo great a height, as it cauſe it ſelfe be driven away by the deſperation which it ſelfe is cauſe of: he who deſpaires of life, cannot feare death, for he eſteems himſelfe as dead alreadie, and future things are only capable of feare.

Love is a ſilken thred, which holds in the horſe, whileſt he feeles not himſelfe ſpurd by any other paſſion, which then or breakes, or overcomes it, and runs to the deſtruction of his ruler, becauſe the incitements of anger, and deſire of glory, are more powerfull than the affections of love.

'Tis good to cauſe men feare, but not to cauſe ones ſelfe bee feared by men: 'tis good that they feare their owne actions, not the actions of their Princes, unleſſe by reaſon of their Princes actions; feare would be the child of Majeſtie, not of crueltie; the one cauſeth reverence, the other is accompanied by hatred; the former is the off-ſpring of worthy actions, the

latter of bad. That Master is safe whose vertue is feared, and hee is but in a bad condition, whose folly causeth awe. A Prince partakes of Divinity, when he causeth himselfe be feared, because he desireth that wee should doe well; and hee sides with the Devill when he causeth himselfe be feared, because hee himselfe would doe ill.

Tarquin *keepes alwayes about him a guard of armed men, that he might by force maintaine that Scepter, which hee had wonne by force.*

A Princes Guard, if it finde him not a Tyrant, doth oft times make him one. If feare bee the greatest obstacle to wickednesse, securitie is the greatest occasioner. It is certainly a strange thing that a Prince should keepe a guard

guard to ſecure himſelfe from thoſe, of whom he himſelfe is the guard. That Common-wealth neighbours upon corruption, which ſtands in need of a guard; and that principalitie is alreadie corrupt, which hath need thereof: Naturall operations proceed from forme. If a State maintaine it ſelfe by ought elſe than forme, it is violent; if violent, of little durance. An armie will not ſuffice to guard that Prince, whom a few will not ſerve to guard; becauſe few are enough, where is the love of many; and many are but few, where is the hatred of all.

The ſame ſword that may defend him, may kill him, if the covetouſneſſe of a Mercenary man, meet with the liberality of a Common-wealths man. How unhappie is the life of a Tyrant? it behooves hee guard himſelfe from thoſe that guard him. And what is it that can render him ſafe? Affections? no: for wicked men are hate-

full even unto such as reape benefit by their wickednesse. Reward? no: for the rewards which other men promise for the death of a Tyrant, are alwayes greater than those which hee himselfe giveth for the preservation of his life. An Oath? no: for an Oath which is a good thing, partakes not of any thing that is evill, and nothing can bee worse, than to defend a Tyrant. Shame? no: for it is no shame to foule ones hands in his blood, whose death would make paricide be commendable. Good God! If Princes did but consider how safe and safe a thing it is to governe well, how difficult and dangerous it is to governe ill, Souldiers might well serve to adorne their Majestie, not to defend it.

A good Prince may distaste, but not offend; hee may purchase ill willers, but not enemies; and hee needs but a slender guard, because he distastes but a few, and those out of necessitie. If malecontents issued only

only from the tribunall of Justice, and not elſe-where, Officers would be a better defence than Souldiers: But a Prince is in worſe condition, in beſtowing his favours, than in adminiſtring Juſtice: in the one, neceſſitie defends him; in the other, liberality makes him odious. If Juſtice goe amiſſe, it acquires equall number as well of friends, as enemies; whereas reward be it never ſo well beſtowed, pleaſeth but one, and cauſeth the hatred of all others that are unrewarded; which is ſo much the greater, becauſe it proceeds not onely from loſſe, but from a diſ-regard, the Prince ſeemes to put upon thoſe that ſhare not equally of his favour; declaring them to be inferiour to him he hath made choyce to beſtow it on.

A Prince cannot then be termed a Tyrant, whileſt hee requires a ſmall guard, that he himſelfe may guard many; he rather deſerves that name, when he indevours to ſecure himſelfe from the hatred occaſio-

ned by his wickednesse: but howsoever it bee, a Princes guard is not pleasing to the Senat; they imagine it to bee invented to offend them, not to defend the Prince; with whom they alwayes are at variance, for that liberty, which is already servitude, when it falls into the hands of such as may safely use violence.

To make his power greater, and himselfe more terrible, Tarquin *himselfe alone takes cognizance of of all causes, yea, criminall: whence he hath opportunity afforded him to condemne such, from whom he may either hope for profit, or feare damage. He hates the ver-*

tues

tues of other men, hee covets their riches; which at such a time is an enemie to the possessour; nor can there bee a greater happinesse under a Tyrant, than to be unfortunate.

IT is held as a necessary Maxime amongst Princes, that all things may have their dependancie upon one alone; 'twas strengthned by the testimony of an approved Counseller, who is thought to have put it amongst his first instructions, for the preservation of an Empire. But either I am deceived, or he did not intend such private affaires, as properly belong to justice, whose errours can cause but small harme to the Prince. Hee surely intended such as belonging to government, are apprehended

under that point of determination, upon which depends the being, or not being of a Principalitie.

It behoves a Prince as well to abstaine from all things which not become him, as to doe those things which belong unto him. Hee who either too much slackneth, or too much inhaunceth his power, abandoning the degree of a Prince, doth either too poorely serve the common people, or doth too arrogantly command the Nobles; the one of which errours springs from too much familiarity, the other from too much pride.

All men, though never so wise, or of never so mean understanding, when they heare the lives of past Princes recounted, be they good or bad, praise the goodnesse of the one, and blame the wickednesse of the other. Yet are there some who afterwards arriving at supreme authority, leaving those things which they thought praise-worthy, betake themselves to those which in former

former times they had blamed. Wherefore, many thinking this to happen out of meere election, ceaſe not to wonder, that when Princes may live with ſafetie and honour, they chuſe to live in feare and defamation; whereas if they had conſidered how that men doe ſeldome imbarque themſelves in evill actions, but are lead thereunto, not of their owne will, nor yet againſt their will, but of ſomewhat beſide their will; they would have had more occaſion to inquire into the reaſon, than to continue wondring.

I verily beleeve that all Princes would bee good, but that many are hindred by their Subjects, and ſome miſſ-led by the times. Fortune hath likewiſe a great ſhare, if not in making a Prince good, at leaſt in making him appeare ſo. *Cæſar* might happily have been exceeding good, if he had met with *Cyrus* his Subjects or *Trajans* times. It behoves not to meet with great reſiſtance, where any great work is to be well

brought

brought in: the comparisons of the worst, are sometimes necessary to make the best knowne: all Princes may bee good, but not all seeme good. The subjects complaints are of power enough to dazle the writers eyes, so as he see not clearely those actions which he writes; the Prince is left alone to speak against all, whereas all speake against him, and injustice is beleeved to bee alwayes on the more powerfull side. Subjects are so desirous of libertie, as hee that would governe them well, must not governe them at all. He is not accounted a good Prince amongst them, who doth not lay downe his principality. Cities, where the more powerfull trample upon the Plebeians, can never bee well governed, but through ill government. If he defile his hands in the bloud of the Nobility, they call him Tyrant; they hate him as a Tyrant, and oft-times make him become one: If he suffer the common people to be trod under foot, hee

is

is no Prince: that dignity is conferd upon him, that he may defend them moſt, that are leaſt able to defend themſelves. I had almoſt ſaid, it is as hard to know who hath been a good Prince, as it is to be a good Prince: Had it fallen to the common people of Romes ſhare to give their vote, they would have proclaimed ſome one for an excellent Ruler, who by the Senate was declared a Tyrant.

I deny not, but acknowledge that Princes ſometimes run voluntarily into evill wayes, being deceived either by a falſe good, or falſe glory; they finde it more troubleſome to make good a Tyranny, than a principality; they thinke it likewiſe more glorious; they betake themſelves unto it, as if that were more praiſe-worthy which is more difficult than that which is more convenient.

Tarquin *reduceth the Se-*

nators

nators to a ſmall number, that they may bee leſſe eſteemed of by others, and more obſervant of him.

THe ſinewes are taken from the authority of a Senate, when it is reduced to a few: the authority of one Senator is hindered by the extending of it to many; particular men grow leſſe eſteemed of, becauſe that one man is not ſo much eſteemed of, for arriving at that degree whereunto ſo many come, and the reverence of the common people, by how much it is extended, by ſo much it is leſſened: one man in a ſmall aſſembly, either by his worth or fortune, may eaſily make himſelfe umpire; and inequality preſerves a Prince, if it be of many; but if it be of one alone, it ruines him. That Prince which is not a Tyrant, ought augment his Senate, becauſe

becauſe great men are more dangerous than great Magiſtrates. A Prince, who is a Tyrant, hath good fortune, if he find it leſſened, whether his intention be to curbe it, or quite extinguiſh it. Thoſe who augment the number of Senators, if they doe it with an intention of weakning the Senate, by how much more they increaſe it, the more they ſtrengthen it: how great ſoever it be, 'tis alwayes in a poſſibilitie of becomming little, and the authority of a great many, may be managed by the braines of a few. If they doe it with an intention of introducing their well willers, whileſt they thinke to make Senators partiall in their behalfe, they loſe thoſe ſubjects which were formerly partiall unto them. Such things are not reall, but rationall: they are not found in realities, but onely in the underſtanding. The ſame path which mounts from the foot of the hill, deſcends from the top: he who from the Tyrants Palace

lace lookes upon the Senate, miſlikes the Senate; but if from the Senate houſe, he looke upon the Tyrant, hee miſſ-likes the Tyrant. Hence it proceeds that many Magiſtrates of a refin'd judgement, have ſometimes brought into the Senate factious people, to make them change their mindes. Hee is the ſelfe-ſame, which was in the market-place, and which is in the Senate-houſe; but the proſpect is not the ſame from the Senate to the market-place, as from the market-place to the Senate. Who changeth the proſpect of neceſſitie, changeth likewiſe the point. That which not poſſeſt, appeared evill, producing envie and malice, being poſſeſt, (and ſo thoſe removed) is acknowledged for very good: the greateſt and moſt wonderfull metamorphoſis that is, is that which preſents it ſelfe to the eye of any one, when hee layeth aſide envie and malice.

Tarquin

Tarquin marrieth his daughter to the Latines, hee thinkes to ſhun the danger hee might have run in marrying her amongſt his owne friends: to augment his forces, that he might tyranniſe over the Romans, and to prepare meanes, that hee might in time ſubdue the Latines.

THIS is true, a neighbour friend was more uſefull to him, than a thouſand friends, or kindred a farre off. Who ſees not the Tyrant, cannot aid him; his defence is of no further extent than his voyce: the chances which befall him are conſpiracies, and conſpiracies are ſudden. If hee have friends

friends a farre off, he may be said to have a place wherunto to fly, when he is driven out; not a ſtay to keep him from being driven out. But *Tarquin* did rather aſpire to the winning of the Latines kingdome, than feare the loſſe of the Roman: beſides, in ſo hard a buſineſſe, he reapes profit enough, who receives no dammage; and he is ſufficiently defended, who is not offended.

He was a good example to himſelfe, of the bad examples which marriages into the bloud Royal doe produce: the firſt thing they conceive withall, is the deſire of government; the firſt birth which they would bring unto their husbands, is a kingdome. Matrimony requires equality, which if it finde not, it cauſeth. Principality in its owne eſſence, covets inequality. And Princes kindred, are they who firſt ſhew diſlike unto the government, as they who are likelieſt to deſire it, apteſt to compaſſe it. Kindred in a private eſtate are not alwayes

friends;

iends; they pretend equalitie,
ow to emulate, and what they
nnot compasse by emulation, they
devour by malice; which mis-
hiefe it is impossible to allay, ei-
her by benefits, or wisedome, or
oodnesse, or any thing whatso-
ver, death excepted. The world
ould be much obliged to an Au-
hor, who would shew the meanes
ow a man might shun envie and
alice, when the subject is capable
hereof.

Tarquin *had already won great power amongst the Latins, and perhaps that hee might make it greater, was the cause why he desired them to assemble themselves together in the Ferentine wood, to treat of publique affaires.*

faires. They came as a
pointed, hee delayed h
comming; and Turnu
who together with
great deale of liberti
had but small store
understanding, not ab
to suffer so long dela
we may imagine spoke t
this manner in the mid
of them.

TARQUIN, (O you Latine) *is not to bee ranked amongst th unwary, nor numbred amongst the w advised. This action proceeds not fr pride, and if from pride 'tis done th hee may governe; not through negli Hee who is wont to make his compa ons become his servants, will hav friends become his subjects: bee tri our patience by the same meanes, b which he once won the kingdome;*

assemb

emble a Councell, is the authority of a
ince; not to appeare there, the pride
a Tyrant; to indure it, the patience
ubjects.

Tarquin is too great to be any other
mber of our body, than the head: the
mony of many good voyces is marred
me, though better, if it bee too great
loud. If you bring in a Lion into
r Common-wealth, prepare likewise
bey his will: humane power is as
wind, which though it ſtands faire
whither wee are bound, yet if it bee
great, it drownes us. Thoſe who are
much greater than wee, ought to bee
t as farre off as may bee, or at leaſt
ere they are. Wee ought endevour
ave them not our enemies, but not
re to have them our friends: their
verſation is not company, it is ſer-
ude, if it become not enmitie. He
o would ſee a large figure at the beſt
vantage, muſt not ſet it neare to his
, the ſight thereof requires a great
ſtance.

Princes become Tyrants, becauſe
y are never ſatiated with govern-
ment:

ment: they will bee Lords of our ho-
nour, goods, and persons. They hold a-
which they possesse not, their enemy; the-
think all lost which they get not, no ma-
is content with what he possesseth: a-
felicitie which is never found, consist-
more in getting, than in having got: fo-
in the one, men take delight out of a be-
leefe of attaining to it, whereas in th-
other they are vext, finding they have
not attained thereunto.

I perswade my selfe that if one were
Lord of the whole world, and had wha-
ever he could desire; yet cloid with world-
ly delights, he would despaire, seeing he
had not found out felicity, nor knew a-
other place to looke her in.

There is nothing so averse to a Ty-
rant, as liberty; nor is there any warr-
liberty to him, than what is nearest him:
his people learne by example, when they
are not fomented by force.

If a stranger take upon him the au-
thority to assemble a Councell, hee will
shortly have enough to command it.
Formes are not changed in an instant:
accidents which have no bodies, are
those

ose which cause change in bodies.

Doe you beleeve that hee who is not ntent to be Prince amongst his owne ople, will content himselfe to be a pri-ate man amongst the Latines? Doe u beleeve he will abase himselfe to the ther-hood of a City, who leaves no ickednesse unattempted, to raise him-lfe to monarchies?

You have for example before your eyes, e Romans; examples are no more be-eved, they admit of interpretation; ch as had wont to serve for instructi-n, before a deed be done, find no beleefe, ll after it be done. They are become rnicious in humane actions, they are ot considered as they are; every one fits hem according to his owne desire, either o beleeve too much in them, or not be-eve in them at all.

What will you have to doe with him from whom you can expect no helpe, un-esse it be to rule you; nor expect coun-ell, unlesse it be how to grow cruell? And say his customes hurt not you, be-cause they are in him; they will endam-mage you, because they will passe into you:

you: miſchiefe of its owne nature is taking, and 'tis likely that Tyranny hath ſomewhat of ſweetneſſe in it, ſince that many laying aſide the ſecuritie of Principality, betake themſelves to Tyranny not without danger. Wee have too much forgot our ſelves in ſuffering his allyance: matches with Princes, become not a Common-wealth; ſtrangers have got one foot in, to take poſſeſſion; Citizens have a leaning-ſtocke without, whereby to make themſelves Maſters thereof.

Tyrants ought to be hated, not reverenced by the people; it is not ſafe to mention him, much leſſe to introduce him into a Common-wealth; he who ſpeakes of him, ſhould make him be beleeved to be a Tygre, a Sphinx, not a man.

I cannot beleeve you have a deſire of Lords to become ſervants; I know not whether yee ſuffer your ſelves to periſh through ignorance, or weakneſſe, or through both; for my part, my vote ſhall ceaſe together with my life, and not before, in this Common-wealth; whilſt Turnus *lives, ſilence ſhall not bee the*

overthrow

overthrow thereof; hee who will follow my steps, shall not be commanded by Tarquin.

Here Turnus *made an end, when each one turned about to salute* Tarquin, *who arrived at that very instant; and being admonished to make his excuse, said that the occasion of his so long stay, was his having stickled in a difference betweene a father and a sonne.*

Turnus, *who by fiercenesse and freedome of speech, had won reputation amongst the Latines, fol-*

lowing his accustomed wont, answered; Such differences require not much time to end them: the sonne is bound to obey his father, if he be good; if he be bad, to beare with him; howsoever, to reverence him: and hee hath then least reason on his side, when hee pretends to have most.

IT would bee a great good fortune to be borne in times fitted to ones proper *Genius*, if those times were permanent, or if one were to die therein: but since that alterations happen almost alwayes, and death but seldome; it is a great misfortune, to live in a happy time, and dye in an unhappie one: it is

not without wonder to bee considered, that wee who with times change our externall habits, will not beleeve with time, our internall habits ought also to be changed: the ignorant, as well as the learned, are subject to this weakneſſe, either for that they know not how to change that nature whereunto they are accuſtomed, or that they beleeve they ought not to change that which hath beene ſucceſſefull to them; but Fortune often varies with man, becauſe ſhee changeth the times, and they change not their manners.

That Lion-like fierceneſſe which was ſerviceable to *Turnus* in private factions amongſt his equals, ought to have been diſſembled with his ſuperiours; winning behaviour, adviſedneſſe, and fierceneſſe mingled together, ſeaſon any affaire excellently well, when the winning behaviour appeares ſufficiently, the adviſedneſſe not at all, and the fierceneſſe but a little.

As it is weakneſſe to diſſemble with ones equall, ſo not to diſſemble with ones ſuperiour is raſhneſſe; it is not at all times good to ſay all what the heart thinketh, though all what the heart thinketh be good; freedome of ſpeech ought ſometimes to bee forborne, when freedome of life is corrupted; who uſeth it not in a befitting time, hinders not, but haſtens power.

Tarquin, who wrought himſelfe in by little and little, ought by little and little to bee wrought out; the obliging of him to ſecure himſelfe from ſome powerfull Citizen, is to oblige him to doe ſome great act, by which hee may either become, or learne how to become Prince: it is not good to paſſe by the leaſt errours in an entire Common-wealth, and it is worſe to withſtand all in a Common-wealth corrupted; at ſuch times to appeare too much a good Common-wealths man, is the next way to produce a Tyrant; the weight which

which preſerves in ſafetie an upright pillar, cauſeth it fall, if the pillar leane to one ſide. Difficulties ought not alwayes to be thruſt at, in deſperate caſes, it is better to commit them into the hands of Fortune, than to ſeeke to remedie them; where we cannot helpe our ſelves, to be buſie, can worke no other effect, than hinder the effects of a cauſe ſuperiour to our ſelves; and whileſt that comes by unknowne wayes, impatiencie in ſeeking of it out, may eaſily not afford it leiſure to come; or diſturbe it, by cauſing it take ſome other way. How many hath Nature helpt, whom Art hath abandoned? and how many hath Art ſlaine, whom Nature would have reſtored to health?

Tarquin ſayes no more: hee is not wont to defend himſelfe with words, who is uſed to heare nothing but flattery: theſe ſpeeches take him unprovided, becauſe they are free: to anſwer all, pertaines to

private men; to punish all, to Tyrants. Princes ought not contend in words, lest they the more incense others, or become themselves too passionate, and bring their Majestie in question: more place is reserved for craft, when lesse is afforded to choler. A Tyrant sometimes is well pleased, when he heares himselfe provoked by great men; hee seekes out offences, that hee may commit them: he is glad to receive them, out of a desire to revenge them; if he meet with none, he fains them, either for his better excuse, or that he may be the more incenst.

Tarquin, *that hee might plot the death of* Turnus, *hath recourse to some of the contrary faction, by whose meanes, a servant of his is suborned to receive great store of*

of armes and weapons into his house.

STrangers have fitting meanes for revenge in a factious Citie: if there be none there obliged to doe ill, there are alwayes enough, contented to see ill done; if there be none that have the act of anger, there be enough that have the habit of hatred: a stranger in such places meets seldome with any provocations to bloud, save hatred and malice; because offences are for the most part, either old, and already forgotten, or new, and alreadie revenged; it is neither wisdome nor fore-sight for a Citizen so to embroile himself; the stranger is gone, the Citizen remaines. If the businesse succeed not, the former hath the glory to have attempted, the other remaines in danger, because he hath attempted, and suffers scorne for that it hath not succeeded; such kind of people would not be found

in Cities, were there not many in all Cities, who wanting experience and discourse, abound in nothing but ignorance and malice.

The next morning Tarquin *assembles together many of the chiefe of the Latines, in the midst of which, wee may imagine he spake thus:*

MY yesterdayes delay, oh yee Latins, hath delayd all our deaths. Turnus *was grieved at it, because his hopes were thereby prolonged; hee that day thought to make himselfe Master over you; he defer'd his thought, because hee on whom his thoughts were chiefly bent, defer'd his comming. I know this to bee true, and such is his untamed pride, as might make you know it also: but it will appeare plain unto you, when searching into the most secret places of his house, you shall find them filled with weapons.*

A fierce and proud Citizen, is the Lion of the Citie; if he tarry there, hee will be King; fiercenesse makes him rashly seeke for that, which pride makes him covetously desire, such a ones greatest enemie is he who is the Cities chiefest friend.

Your owne eares filled with so many opprobrious lyes utterd against me, may be a witnesse of this; hee never sought for glory, but by detracting from others; he is one of those who terme themselves free, and are so indeed, in as much as they are not subiect to reason; a people who see nothing but faults, because they seeke after nothing else: they blame the Sunne, because it offends their eyes, and know not that the fault is in their eyes, not in the Sunne: a wicked generation, whose fame lyes onely in diffamation; their praise in blaming, their greatnesse in detraction. They say whatsoever comes next in mouth, so it be bad enough; they are proud, envious, arrogant, and malicious; they seeke for applause, through evill speaking, and because they meet with it in the weaker

sort, they make the better Citizens grow desperate; and under a false shew of liberty, they first confound the true one; then oppresse it; they have no meanes to raise themselves, but by taking from others; that they may rise, they put him under-foot whom they detract, and so, as they may appeare great, like women, they care not whether it be by stesse, or a chopine: this kind of people most pernitious to the whole world, sow confusion, make Princes become Tyrants, raise discords in Senats, fill Cities with calumnies, and finally with dead men.

Turnus sayes, I aspire to the government of you; he brings for example, that I am hatefull to mine owne people, an enemie, a Tyrant to them.

O miserable condition of Princes! when as necessity inforces them to oppose themselves to the ambition and hatred of great ones, they call them Tyrants: They cannot make good the reasons they have of putting them to death, unlesse the Princes will suffer themselves to bee slaine: conspiracies are cald tricks, and inventions, when they end it not in a

Traged-

Tragedy with the death of the Prince; they are held impossible, though their truth be seene every day; it is lawfull to beat backe force by force; if private men doe so, they are borne withall, if not commended; in Princes it is blamed, and necessity is termed cruelty; the weakest seemes alwayes to have the justest cause, though true justice consists only in such as are powerfull, who have it in their choice to doe, what the others are inforst to doe.

And who is it that hates me, unlesse it be the Senate, which cannot brooke Princes, nor bee brooked by Princes; it was a friend to Servius, *because it tooke not from him that Authority it tooke from the Kingdome, though it belonged not unto him; but it hath taken both the one and the other from mee, to whom of right they did belong; Right is not by them weighed, but numbred; and is there beleeved to be, where it is cryed up by the major partie.*

A Senate is ordained for free Cities; where such freedome is not, it corrupteth Government, and makes Monarchie turne Tyrannie.

Doe

Doe not beleeve (O Latins) that the faults which they object unto mee, proceed from any vice of mine, they are causèd through the necessity of government: they who desire a mediocrity in liberty, desire it not as meaning to rest there, but that they may the easier compasse what yet remaines behind: if a rider put a rough bit in a horses mouth which will not bee governed, no man blames him for severity; they blame the horse because he will not be ruled; and yet they call the Prince cruell, who would curb the Senate, and call not the Senate head-strong which will not obey the Prince: where there is such a magistracie, the Prince must either heare himselfe called Tyrant, or suffer his Principality be taken from him, or give it up himselfe: this name of Tyrant, which is so frequent in every mans mouth, what is it, but his command who forceth himselfe to be obeyed? which if it be true, every one that commands is a Tyrant; since there are very few, or indeed none at all, who (al other impediments taken away) doe naturally affect servitude; for my

part

part I will rather renounce, than prejudice government; quit the Principality rather than leſſen it.

But allow it, though void of all truth, that I be hatefull, an enemie, and a Tyrant to my people: who knowes not that if I have enemies, it behoves me ſeeke for friends? that he who is hated of his ſubjects, cannot ſubſiſt without the love of forreiners? that he cannot by Violence hold in the Romans, who hath not the Latins for his faithfull confederates? In briefe, Truth is a precious liquor, it will not be kept under by the waters of falſhood, but will float above; and falſhood is a viper, which wounds with her teeth, and beares the cure in her belly.

You ſee now the words which Turnus *made uſe of to falſifie truth, are the ſelfe-ſame by the which I prove the truth; you ſhall ſee the ſame man, who hath offended me, ſtand up in my defence. I will then ſhew you what* Tarquin *is, when you ſhall know what* Turnus *is.*

Truth hath no ſuch enemy as likelihood; and oft-times one truth is an utter enemie to another.

More beleefe ought to be given to things which appeare impossible, than to those which admit of likelihood; who would make a lye be beleeved, delineates forth a seeming truth, and not the impossibility; I was about to say, and am almost of the opinion, that he is in a worse condition, in the worlds respect, who is loaded with calumnies, than he who is infested with accusations.

There is no lye so dangerous, as that which most resembles the truth; many likely propositions seem to conclude a necessary truth; and many true antecedents, are of force enough, yea, amongst the most wary, to averre a false conclusion.

It happens now and then, that an innocent man can deny no interrogatories, yet will deny the consequence; a thousand moments make no difference in time, a thousand points make not one line, and a thousand likelihoods make not one truth.

It was true that *Turnus* was a proud man, it was true that he was fierce, it was true that hee blamed *Tarquins* tarrying, it was true that he had a number of armes hid in his house, but all the rest was false; there is no means to preserve ones selfe from such wicked wayes, and perverse calumnies; they are mines which cannot be avoided, but by fore-seeing them.

A State is maintained by accusations, ruined by calumnies. It is a common tenet amongst politicians, the latter part is not heeded now adayes by the world, because that though men doe not beleeve falsehood, yet they give way thereunto. Subjects use their pen, not their tongues; and though in what they write, calumnies are oft enough discerned, yet are they not punished, because the calumniators are not knowne. Such proceedings puzzle the braines of Princes; and if it cause not diffidence arise in them, it causeth confidence to cease:

all

all are not of his opinion, who at the ſame time when as he ſwallowed downe the ſuſpected drinke, put into his friends hand the calumnious paper: it was an action of one void of feare, I cannot call it a wiſe mans part: falſhood, when conſtantly affirmed for truth, if it deceive not even thoſe who know the certainty thereof, it aſſuredly makes them ſuſpend their judgement; many beleeve, that nothing which is done would be knowne, if this meanes were not uſed; and I am of beleefe, that but a little is knowne, becauſe it is uſed; if men were certaine there were no other way of accuſation, than by revealing themſelves, in things which appertaine unto the State, their dutie and honour would lead them to it; and for what concernes civill converſation, oftentimes hatred and envie, yea ſometimes zeale and conſcience. Then if a Prince would reward accuſers, and puniſh ſlanderers, he would in a ſhort time make happie his eſtate; for that accuſers

cusers by little and little winning reputation, they would at last come to such an height, that men would not bee ashamed to accuse, as the most reputed Citizens in the best times have not been: the suffering of accusations to goe lesse in reputation, and calumnies to get footing, hath been the increase of manslaughter, and the continuance of enmity. Happie shall the subjects alwayes be of that wise Prince, who doth countenance accusations, and checke calumnies.

The Latins goe to Turnus *his house, prepared to beleeve all, if they finde that of the armes true; and finding it to be true, they make him prisoner; they assemble the Councell, and placing* Turnus *and his armes in the midst,*

midst, the anger of those who stood about him did so increase, as not allowing him to speake in his defence, they found a new way of death for him in the Ferentine waters.

IN such like cases as this, it is equally capitall to bee accused, and to have conspired: there is no defence but impossibility; a possibility of conspiracie is no sooner seene, but the conspiracie is beleeved: likelihood, if of good things, causeth so earnest a desire of them, or if of bad, such a feare, that it leaves no place for consideration of the truth, because it affords not time for the sifting of it. Conspiracie affrights the heart, and stupifies the members; who heares it, is apter to say, I should not have beleeved

leeved it, than I doe not beleeve it. Slander seemes to be there impossible, when the accusation ought to be capitall to the accuser, if it prove not so to the accused: in all other cases helpe may be hoped for from adherents; in this to defend another, is to offend ones selfe: who shewes himselfe a friend, seems a confederate. Judgement cannot rightly be given, whether the accused ought to die or not, till such time as hee bee dead, because the truth of the conspiracie cannot be knowne till the danger be over.

In those waters where *Turnus* lost his life, the Latins almost lost their Libertie. Libertie of life ceaseth, when liberty of speech ceaseth; and it is hatefull to a Tyrant, because it is necessary for a Common-wealth: he cannot be said to be master of himselfe, who hath his tongue subject to another; one only, who feares not to speake, and knowes when to speake, will cause feare in a thousand: they withhold

hold themselves from doing ill, who are sure to heare thereof; and one free-man that hath braines, is sufficient to save a whole Citie, which is in hazard of being lost through silence. Libertie belongs to equals, flattery to inferiours, the one is the Common-wealths Nurse, the other the Tyrants foster-mother.

It is true, and I have already said it, that *Turnus* was not cautious in the handling of Libertie; but in his case it had beene all one, even with them that had gone about it never so wisely; it was not his death which damnified the Common-wealth, it was the example of his death.

Tarquin summons the Latins againe to Counsell, hee praiseth the revenge they have taken of one that was seditious; hee desires

desires them to renue their league and friendship with the Romans.

THe proposition peradventure was not pleasing, yet was it entertained, though much beneath the Latins; and to say truth, who was there that would gain-say *Tarquin?* who was there that had a mind to follow *Turnus* his foot-steps, which led to the Ferentine waters?

He who is hated, so as he be also feared, though hee have not mens good will, yet he useth his will and pleasure with them; he is obeyed, if not loved; nothing is granted unto him, nor any thing denyed him.

Terrible examples, though they rob us not of power, yet they take from us the soule of that power, because they take our courage from

from us; they incite anger, but accompanied with feare: from which conjunction, hatred and cowardise ariseth. The death of one great man, if it bee single, may well produce hatred, but makes not that hatred dangerous, because it is not accompanied with despaire; it brings with it all the good which Princes thinke to reape by being cruell, and not all the inconveniencies. A present good action is able to make a past bad one be forgotten, when it is thought the like will not again be done. One harsh note in musick, is not only allowable, but makes the harmony the more pleasing, so as it bee but one, and bee followed with a concord.

Tarquin *commands that all the armed youth assemble themselves together, in the Ferentine wood; where all the people be-*

ing met, and having for their greater ſecuritie, mingled together the Roman and Latine Colours, hee there-out framed an armie.

THis way of ſecuritie, is not very ſafe: a knowne ſigne among them, diſtinguiſheth them from confuſion, and confuſion is only hurtfull to the cauſer. With what courage will hee fight, who ſtands in continuall feare either of being abandoned, or not followed by his companion? An armie compoſed of ſundry Nations likes me well, out of another reaſon: they ſeldome mutiny all together, becauſe they joyntly underſtand not one another; and many times there is cauſed ſuch an emulation amongſt the ſeverall parts, as in the whole makes an harmony, when it is not accompanied with the diſ-

agreeing

agreeing notes of hatred; and this also if the parts be more than two, wil not leſſen the ſweetneſſe of the concordance, though it increaſe the commanders labour. When one ſide mutinies, the other is quiet, expecting profit for not having mutinied: when one ſide advances it ſelfe againſt the enemy, the other endevours to bee as forward, holding it a ſcorne to be behind: they have two Incitements to fight valiantly, their own particular honour, and the honour of their Nation.

The general is the ground-work of the muſicke, the other parts if there be no diſcord amongſt them, make not harmony with him; and making it with him, they altogether make up a moſt exact conſort. All his difficulty lyes in ſo behaving himſelfe, as his affection may be a center equally diſtant from all the parts of the circumference; 'tis the like diſproportion that the whole become a part, as that the commander become partiall.

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He wages warre against the Volsians, *hee by force takes from them* Suessa, *and* Pometia; *hee reserves the prey, to build a Temple to* Jupiter. Tarquin *was a wicked Prince, but a valiant Captaine.*

IF evill have no essence, what would become of it, were it not supported by goodnesse? This it is, that is the ground worke of the worlds worst things; it is that which maintaines sinne: to be valiant in warre, if it secures not Tyranny, it at least prolongs it: It suffers not feare to become contemptible, which arrives at the degree of being shamefull, when a Prince is feared, because his command is of force, not because he is

worthy to command. All cruelties are bad enough, but they are better endured in a Commander of worth, than in one of no estimation: in the one weakneſſe is diſcerned, and hath feare for its companion; in the other fierceneſſe, and hath daring for its companion. Men alwayes goe with a kinde of reverence, when they aſſault their maſter, and with feare alſo, when that maſter is a brave fellow: and where feare and reverence once enter, conſpiracies ſeldome ſucceed well. It behoves that ſubjects, to the end that they may patiently endure a Tyrant, confeſſe him to be a great Prince, if they acknowledge him not to be a good one.

Valour is a kind of Beſar, which comforts the hearts of ſubjects, that they may the better endure a Tyrants venome: but they ſeldome arrive at ſuch a degree of vertue, as makes them tolerable; and when they doe arrive there, then they are the more ſecure, but not altoge-

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ther out of danger: 'tis true, that reputation may defend severity, but not crueltie; and if crueltie, such as is used in armies, not such as is practised amongst Citizens.

A cruell Tyrant could bee no where better than in a Campe, were he but secure of his citizens. Those vices which are insufferable in a Citie, are sufferable in an armie: 'tis no new thing there to see bloud, where nothing but bloud is shed; and military discipline, if it may not admit of a cruell Prince, requires often a severe one.

If warre incounter with a Tyrant, who naturally is given to bloud, it augments his crueltie; because the use of seeing dead men takes mercy totally away; if it meet with one who useth crueltie, because hee would not bee despised, whilest it affords him occasion of making himselfe glorious, it takes from him the occasion of being cruell. Hence is it, that the obtaining of victories is sometimes

poyſon to Princes; and on the contrary, an antidote to Tyrants: the one ſort being already in ſafety, finde themſelves oft-times egged on by victory to thoſe vices, from which feare kept them backe: the other alreadie famous, finde themſelves withheld by glory from thoſe vices whereunto the doubt of being deſpiſed, had incited them.

Tarquin *beſiegeth the Gabians, but being driven from their walls, and deſpairing to overcome them by Roman Art, he hath recourſe unto his treacheries; wherein his youngeſt ſonne interpoſing himſelfe, wee may imagine that* Tarquin *being himſelfe moſt wic-*

ked,

ked, did most wickedly, in some such sort as this incourage him.

WE have in vaine, O Sextus, by force assaid the Gabins, nought now remaines but craft, which is the second meanes of greatnesse; force being the first, craft is good to adde force to things already acquired: force is requisite to maintaine what is gotten by craft: The one of it selfe is of no use, the other without relish. I surely should not put this behind what ever else, for what concernes the augmenting of States, were it not a weapon which oft loseth his edge, when it is first made use of. Who will availe himselfe of wisdome, shall be alwayes good, but not alwayes great. Libertie were not necessarily naturall to man, were not force and craft to be used in his subjection.

No people are overcome but by some meanes, and that meanes deserveth praise, because it hath prevailed. They are to be blamed, I confesse, who have offered

at a tyrannous government, but not they who have effected it. Tyranny is a flame, which at the first sends forth smoake, burnes bright at last; and becomes always most cleare, as it findes least resistance.

That which many account infamie, is for the most part overcome by the rumour of victory, or by time quite extinguished: most Princes, are Princes, because their predecessours have been Tyrants.

To become great, it is not sufficient not to feare the sword, if either mens tongues or pens bee feared; they blame all means, whereby they may be brought in subjection: to purchase immortall fame, it sufficeth that all owes actions bee great; equall renowme is got by a good and by a bad report, if they be equally great.

Those Philosophers which the world calls wise, I call crafty; they are weake people, therefore blame violence: abject, therefore blame greatnesse: poore, therefore praise povertie.

They teach to be contented with little, because

bec ause they themselves cannot attaine to much; and that which being necessitie would cause them bee pitied, they would make the world beleeve were vertue, that they might be admired: every one that hath braines in his head, seeketh priority, and who cannot get it amongst men, seekes for it amongst children.

What doe they intend when they blame greatnesse, but to make themselves be beleeved great; since not being so, and passing their time in rest and quietnesse, as drowned in a lothsome idlenesse, they seeke to abase, nay to hurry downe those glories which the most renowned Princes of the world have won with their so much labour and danger. Great sure is their humilitie, who being the most contemptible of all the world, would make themselves bee beleeved greater, than who are greatest. They contend against nature, and yet would sublimate themselves contrary to the will of Fortune: they teach all things to be contemptible, save such qualities as they are endowed withall, though those be of all other most

contemptible; but what will you? they praise those vertues as chiefest, which make them greatest.

We all aime at the same thing; every one blames that course which hinders him. They praise humilitie, povertie, and continencie, even to the Skies, because their so doing makes them seeme great: we all fish in the Sea, but with differing tooles; one takes a Minim, the other a Whale.

Goe then my sonne to the Gabins, seeme as if you fled from mee; accuse me of crueltie, indevour their confidence, behave your selfe as one of their companions, if you will attaine to command.

We may beleeve that those most wicked lessons were given to a sonne, to instruct him in villany. Hee obeyes, flies to the Gabins; and tis likely that in the midst of them

he

he broke into such like words as these:

LO! here a sonne, O Gabins, escaped from his fathers sword, to shield himselfe in his enemies armes! he brought mee up as a sacrifice, to make an oblation of me to the Temple of cruelty: if fathers be enemies, it behoves enemies be fathers.

Hee would cause the same loneliness in his Family, which hee hath done in the Senate; he knowes not how to be father, neither of his Countrey, nor Children. All his thirst is after blood; he onely covets rule, that he may kill. He covets the command of Cities, onely that he may dispeople them. He likewise would destroy father-hood it selfe, perhaps because it resembles Principalitie.

His cruelty is a fire, which alwayes burnes what is next unto it, that after other things it may consume it selfe. He seekes his sons bloud, cloyd with the bloud of so many Citizens, for his further de-

light, he must needs use some extraordinary cruelty.

He seeth he hath sonnes, he thinkes them like himselfe; he feares them, because he feares himselfe. The consciousnesse of his owne misdeeds, corrodes him; he feares his owne imagination, which only represents unto him horrible things; and he thinking to take courage, betakes himselfe afresh to murthers: and by how much the more hee imbrues his hands in blood, that he may free himselfe from fearing others, he feares himselfe the more. A Tyrant would not know what to desire, if after having committed so many manslaughters, he should forget the having committed them: fortune may well free him from punishment, but nothing from feare; his feare endures as long as doth his life.

'Tis safer to be Tarquins enemie, than his sonne; there is no such way as enmity to free ones selfe from being assassinated by such a one.

Startle not, O yee Gabins, at my being begot by Tarquin; Children do not alwayes resemble their fathers: a tender

tender worme sometimes hath its beginning from a knotty peece of wood. If things begotten did not oft-times differ from things begetting, there would be no variety of individuals, but only a diversity of species; and the world, deprived as it were of its beauties, would remaine alwayes in the same state.

'Tis I, 'tis I, that will revenge so many villanies; the fates will have it so. Tyrants are like fruit, like iron; they from their owne substance produce the rust which consumes them, the wormes which devoure them.

If love to fathers were naturall, bruit beasts would likewise observe it: and how many children doe we see adulterously begotten, who love those as their fathers, who are not so?

If he begot me, 'twas either out of the itch of sense, or incitement of ambition, either to delight or to eternise himselfe: and if he did desire a child, he did not desire me for that childe: and what obligation owe I then to him, who desired my life when he knew me not; and knowing me, desires my death.

The

The Gabins entertaine him; they beleeve, their beleef ſprings from their deſire.

THis alone oft-times brings forth monſters, becauſe it couples with chimera's: great deſire is ſubject to great deceit; or rather he may almoſt be ſafely cozened, who vehemently deſires: he beleeveth what he covets, poſſible: he frames arguments to make himſelfe beleeve it, and thinkes his underſtanding who deceives him, jumps with his conceit. The wiſeſt many times run upon this rocke; for the object of a prevailing paſſion ſuddenly preſented, is of equall force with a load-ſtone: the ſenſe which ſeeth it, thinkes not it needs the helpe of reaſon to judge it; it firſt allowes it, and then diſputes: and oft-times findes it not to be poyſon, till it begin to worke.

Sextus

Sextus Tarquin *ſeemes not willing to meddle in civill affaires, hee perſwades them to truſt him with what belongs unto the warre: and ſo behaves himſelfe, that having ſome ſmall bickerings with the Romans, he came alwayes off with the beſt.*

THis is a heat which ſeemes naturall, as if it cheriſhed, when indeed it is feveriſh, becauſe it burnes.

Sonnes are like their fathers, when their mothers differ not in manners from their fathers. *Sextus Tarquin* ſhould have thought himſelfe worſe than his father, in that *Tullia* was his mother, more wicked than her husband.

Who

Who alwayes doubts, is never deceived; wise men beleeve nothing but what they see, and what they see, they often doubt of.

Suspition is no fault, but the bewraying of it, a great one; wherein can a man be injured by his not beleeving, when he reapes the like profit as if he did beleeve, and yet is wary as if he did not beleeve? The best rule which can be given for living in safety, is alwayes to faine beleefe, yet alwayes doubt. Things onely which belong to God, ought to be beleeved, not examined: He is the very truth it selfe; he is not false, no deceiver: yea it is he that teacheth us not to beleeve men, because they are all lyars.

If men were what they ought to be, they should be accordingly dealt withall; but corrupt bodies require not solid meat.

The wary will never erre in their beleeving little, and the inconsiderate will seldome but erre

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in their over eatie beleefe. 'Tis true, that he who cannot make uſe of incredulity, will runne into as many errours, as he who is too credulous.

Suſpition doth well in all things, not that we ſhould let ſlip all things, but that wee ſhould be in all things cautelous. Incredulitie ſhould make a man be adviſed, not irreſolute; nay, ſometimes to compaſſe great actions, it is neceſſary we recommend ſomewhat to Fortune, wiſedome not being able to ſecure us in all things: which fortune moſt commonly (let others ſay what they liſt) ſides with the wiſe, or for that ſhe followes them better, or for that they lay better hold on her.

The *Gabins* might have ſo entertained him, as if hee had told truth, he might have availed them; if otherwiſe, done them no harme.

Hee

Hee is affable unto them all, justly divides the spoiles; will bee their companion; nor shewes any superioritie, save in valour. And so ties the hearts of the people to him, as his authoritie amongst the Gabins, *is not inferiour to* Tarquins, *amongst the Romans.*

THis Estridge, which seemes as if he would cut the ayre with his fethers, hath wings to cousin, not to fly withall: he swallowes Iron, disgests it not, but renders it up againe.: He like a stage-Player, puts on the semblance of doing like a Prince, not of being a Prince; and if of being a Prince, in no o-

ther

ther manner, than as the picture of a man may be said to be a man.

'Tis true, hee knew how to bee good; he might have beene good, but would not.

Those who value daring, more than wisdome, thinke nothing glorious, but what they have with their daring won. The reputation of a good Prince relisheth not with them; they covet the sharpnesse which Tyrannie brings with it, and honour most what makes most noyse: they thinke that braines are made for contemplation, not for government.

This is the ruine of youth; the most of them beleeve that true wisdome consists in being courageous; and are not aware that whilest they seeke after the fame of valiant, they purchase the title of foole-hardy; and no greater misfortune can befall a man, than to have a heart, and to want braines.

He

Hee ſends a meſſenger to his father, to let him know what he hath done, and to heare from him what he would have him doe.

The counſell which Tarquin gave his ſonne, was the ſame which Periander gave Traſybulus. He leads the Embaſſadour into a garden, where with a wand hee tops off the heads of the higheſt flowers.

ALl men walking in the fields, or diſporting themſelves in gardens, caſt their eyes ſuddenly upon ſuch a flower or ſimple, as is higher

higher than the reſt, and breake it off; or for that the hatred of pride is ſo naturall, as it makes not onely him, who is endued with it, inſufferable, but whatſoever repreſents it; or by vertue of an exquiſite imagination, which making it appeare to us diſſonant and deformed, will not permit us with patience to ſuffer it: or elſe it may proceed from the eaſineſſe of cutting it ſhorter: for all ſuch things as doe eloigne themſelves from the equalitie of others, eloigne themſelves alſo from their defence.

It is not good in gardens for any plant to bee greater than the reſt, unleſſe it bee a Tree, whoſe bulke makes it not eaſie to be ſnapt in two. A flower which is higher than another is topt off: a taller Tree is ſeene with admiration; ſo in Cities, he who will be eſteemed and not cut ſhort, muſt if a Citizen, be equall; if Superior, a Prince. He whoſe fortune or valour

lour hath made him higher than others, let him ſtoope till they be equall. Let him not expoſe himſelfe to eyes, if hee will ſhunne hands; otherwiſe hee cauſeth envie in thoſe who ought to be his equals, becauſe hee hath out-ſtript them, feare in him who ſhould be his Superiour, becauſe he equals him.

Such a flower is eaſily topt off. All great men are enemies to a greater; and ſo much the more implacable, by how much neerer him they are: But the Common people which hate the Magiſtracie of great men, reverence a great man: or rather becauſe they hate the former, they love a greater man, and ſuffer him not willingly to bee cut off, becauſe they admire his beautie, injoy his ſhade, and by his leaves grow fat. To baniſh, to tranſplant him, and not cut his roots; to make him loſe the Citie, and not loſe his power, is a buſineſſe ill undertaken: hee loſeth

seth not his reputation amongst his friends, if hee wins credit amongst strangers; hee is desired in the Citie, and hee desires the Citie: whereinto not able to returne a Subject, he sometimes endevours to returne Master.

Sextus *understands his wicked fathers counsell; and by sundrie meanes he banisheth some of the chiefe Citizens, puts some to death, and leaveth way for some to escape; and dividing all their goods amongst the common people, by the sweet of profit, hee luls them into a lethargie, from which they never did*

did awake, till the Gabines libertie was at an end.

CRuell actions are so many bolus, which are never better taken, than when wrapt up in gold. Tyrants, who being wise, are likewise liberall, have a good stocke to leane unto, but they seldome take that way; and if they doe, they keepe not long in it, for crueltie is seldome without avarice, by which if it be not caused, it causeth it.

The publike good is a specious name; it is sought for with relation to the private; otherwise, men would cooperate as well under a good Prince, as under a Commonwealth.

That doctrine of Philosophers, that private good may bee preferd before the common good, is as pernicious when it beares with it such a proportion, as the allow-

in-

ing wine to the ſicke of a Fever. When ſenſe is the inciter, things granted are alwayes exceeded, all rules enlarged, and an eaſie paſſage is made from things conditionall, to things abſolute; who will take away the pravitie of feeling, muſt not give way to the pleaſure of ſeeing.

Where libertie is, if great men bee Magiſtrates, they are hatefull to the people; they willingly ſee them abaſed, nor are they aware that they are bankes reared up, which though they hinder the ſight, yet withſtand inundations. The common peoples hatred to the Senate is ſo naturall, that they continue it, yea, under Princes; and Princes in my opinion (at leaſt in this reſpect) ought to cheriſh a Senate, as a fit place for Subjects to vent their complaints on, who alwayes more willingly complaine of the Senate, than the Prince; either becauſe they envie them more, as being neerer them, or feare them

them leſſe, as being leſſe powerfull. The Senate matters not much, yet ſerves to breake off the peoples blowes, who paſſionately run their lances againſt a Saracin of wood; it is like fortune, which doth juſt nothing in the world, and yet is alwayes curſt for doing miſchiefe.

Tarquin *makes peace with the* Equi, *renewes his league with the* Tuſcans, *and betaking himſelfe to Citie affaires, will finiſh the Temple of* Jupiter Tarpeius.

TYrants are wicked, yea in the building of Temples; they build them not ſo much for worſhip, as to be worſhipped: 'tis rather policie, than religion. A wicked peece of Pietie, to build great Temples

Temples out of a desire of becomming great, to seeke worldly honour by things divine, to make God a cloake to hide ambition, and nourish our desires. The scumme of the people partake of the Chyromancer; they will see the hand, to judge the heart: but how many are there who present themselves before God with hands of gold, and hearts of clay? Monuments of stone are fading; what is exposed to the injuries of time, cannot defend us from being thereby devoured. Good men need not to have their names written in Marble, whose actions live in the memories of men: bad men should not seeke to eternize their memories by Monuments, since oblivion is the greatest happinesse can befall them.

The Temple being built, wherein hee had imployed the people; hee fell to the causing of certaine common Shores be cleansed.

TO set people accustomed to war, about sordid businesses, doth irritate them against the sower on, and abaseth them in the eyes of their enemies.

The first and principall secret of Tyranny, is to keepe friendship with the people; which the oppression of great folkes hinders not, but augments: 'tis the nature of all things, that one parrise as another fals; if it bee not raised, 'tis eased: the people covet quietnesse, plenty, safety, to live, and suffer others live. The which is hardest to a Prince, is easiest to a Tyrant, whilest the la-

ter practiseth upon the Nobilitie, the other is by the Nobilitie hindred, which oft-times doth tyrannize, when not tyrannized.

I hold it ever a difficult thing to maintaine a Principality in a Citie, where the people and great men doe both agree in the desire of libertie, unlesse it bee done without weapons. 'Tis evidently seene, that *Tarquin* was no Tyrant by Art, but Nature; not for his safetie, but delight: the people like better of a Tyrant, than of libertie; when libertie is not popular, and the Tyrant wise. A Tyrant hath none on whom more to trust, nor whom more to feare; hee hath no better friend, no worser enemy: he was therefore wise, as I beleeve, who thought the government of a bad Prince, and an uncorrupted people, profitable for a Citie: the one is a curb to the Tyrant, the other to the Nobilitie. A Prince kept within bounds, a people not corrupted, and an humbled Nobi-

litie, makes an excellent composition.

Whileſt the Romanes were intent upon their affaires, a great prodigie appeares. A Serpent is ſeene to come out of a Columne of wood, which frightens, and puts to flight all the Court.

PRodigies which are fore-runners of things to come, are ſeldome regarded before the things bee come to paſſe; and if they bee ſometimes regarded, yet are they not underſtood. Many have beleeved, that in man alſo there are certaine ſeeds of Divination of future things, not knowne till they be paſt: I grant it, and ſhould beleeve them to bee the motives of our tutelary Angels, were it not

that they are unusefull, either for provision, or prevision. I feare me the Devill is the framer of prodigies: it seemes to be the aime of one proud and envious. He shewes us things to come, that hee himselfe might reape honour: hee suffers us not to know them, that wee may not thereby reape profit: or shall wee say that those Starres which threaten or promise good or bad influences, whilest they dispose the matter, endevour to introduce the forme, and whilest they doe introduce it, doe produce in such a place, such a thing, such a man, many things which precede, which accompany, and which follow; which though they bee not alwayes the same things, yet come they alwayes from the same things. That constellation which moveth the Serpent to enter the Court, is the same which moveth *Brutus* to drive out *Tarquin* from hence. Great alterations require

great influences, which when they cause great diversitie in their working, happens not because the influences are divers, but because they are divers who receive them. Actions are not done by their agents in an instant; dispositions precede them, the truth of whose effects we doe not know, because the vertue of causes is unknowne to us.

Moreover, men of themselves understand not things to come, because while they seeke the helpe of Reason, they lose the assistance of the Starres; they with their disputes confound the motives of Nature; it is, perhaps, to punish our rashnesse, which willing to make use of the understanding, to arrive at that, where the understanding cannot sometimes arrive, goes not thither, whither Nature would lead it; its motive is on the sudden, while there is neither thought nor dispute about it; it is not minded

becaus

because not disputed; and therefore good, because not disputed. Hence it is that women advise well on the sudden, and that children and fooles propheſie; they say what heaven, not reason dictates to them.

Tarquin ſends his two ſonnes, Titus and Arrons, to the Oracle; who take along with them, Junius Brutus, their ſiſters ſon; whom hee had not onely ſuffered to live after having ſlaine his brother, but for his fate permitted him to keepe company with his ſonnes.

WIcked men doe often ruine themselves, through Gods not permitting them to bee wholly wicked (otherwise the world would be destroyed.) It seldome happens, that together with the feare of God, they lose the shame of infamie; all wickednesse would succeed well to them, were they not many times hindred by a desire of honesting them; and so whilst they will be wicked, and appeare good, they either undertake no greater wickednesse, or else it succeeds not; but be it as you please; let the Tyrant have strayed from reason in whatsoever manner, hee hath not lost the desire of glory: it is true though, that hee who erres in the generall, as he perswades himselfe, that what is bad, is good; so knowing no other difference in the atchieving of renown, than the greatnesse or pooreneſse of the undertaking; hee indevours sometimes a great fame, though purchased by never so great an infamie.

This Brutus, *who knew no greater ſafetie under the Tyrant, than ſcorn and neglect, where a greatly good and greatly bad fame are equally dangerous, where Juſtice is not regarded, where knowledge is pernicious, betakes himſelfe to madneſſe, and aſſiſted by his being naturally given to melancholy, by counterfeiting ſecures himſelfe, leaving nothing for the Tyrant either to deſire or feare.*

MElancholy men doe so resemble mad-men, that when they are not busied about any thing, but idle, I cannot distinguish them from mad-men, I had almost said from beasts; but when they doe any thing, I know them to be very wise, I had almost said, they contend with the intelligences. No other cloud, save *Brutus* his melancholy humour, could have shaded the Sun-beames of a great understanding; all other humours would either not have long deferd revenge, or for ever forgotten it. Long use of meats may change the habit of the body; long counterfeiting may shape a new habit in the understanding; for custome hath power to make that become naturall, which is not so.

Melancholy, which is not the dregges, but purest part of the bloud, which is no coale, but precious jewell, is that which produceth *Heroes*, since bounding upon

upon madneſſe, it brings men to a ſublimitie, out of which one cannot paſſe, and within which all our wiſedomes latitude extends it ſelfe.

Hee is greatly wiſe, who under a Tyrant can counterfeit a fooles part; it is a good peece of cunning, if the cunning bee not diſcovered, for it is harder to play the foole, than to bee wiſe; and I ſhould hold it to bee a very ſafe way, were not one onely action ſufficient to take off the diſguiſe, having no meanes of ever reſuming it againe.

Brutus who was Maſter of this Art, with the turning of the Scene, owns himſelfe.

He makes himſelfe knowne when hee drives out the Tyrant; hee unmaskes him-

himselfe at the last Scene; every one commends him, when they consider him, because they considered him not till the end of the Tragedie.

TYrants ought more to feare those who cloake their passions, than those who discover them; these stand nakedly exposed to the injuries of who hath a minde to hurt them; the other defend themselves behind the trenches, from such as assault them, that they may sally forth when it is fit time to make assault. The warily advised, and hare-brained foolhardy, flattery and liberty, are equally dangerous to a Prince; that man never sufficiently to bee praised, who speaking of a Tyrant, left in writing, how he feared libertie,

and

and hated flattery; perhaps might as well have said, that hee hated liberty, and feared flattery.

They come to the Oracle, and after having made known their Fathers desires, they make inquiry touching the succession of the Kingdome; a voyce was heard to answer, he of you shall raigne, who shall first kisse his mother: the two brothers agreed, not to speak of this to Sextus, *who staid at Rome, and to commit it to Fortune, which of them should first kisse their*

their mother: but Brutus, *seeming as if hee fell, kist the earth, as he who knew the answers of Oracles, not to be so cleare, but full of a thousand ambiguities.*

THE Devill did not this as knowing what was to come, but hee told what was to come, that hee might procure that that might afterwards happen which hee had fore-told; hee endevoured it to winne himselfe credit, God permitted it to punish humane arrogancie; it may bee also the truth of Astrologicall predictions are rather caused by the Devill, than by the Starres; so by God permitted to confound our rashnesse, whereby it happens, that when wee would foretell things, we doe it by the Devill. The de-

fire

ſire to know things to come, is a deſire to bee like God, and this was the fore-runner of originall ſinne: who tells them, is preſumptuous; who inquires after them, is vaine. Some ſeeme deſirous to ſearch into them, that they may encounter the good which thereby is promiſed, and ſhunne the evill which is thereby threatned; and many times by incountring the good, they loſe it, and by ſhunning the evill, they meet with it; but they ſeeke after them, that they may find what they deſire; which if they finde not, they beleeve them not; they begge food for their preſent ambition, with the deceitfull hopes of future greatneſſe.

They returne with their anſwer to their Father, whom they finde hath waged warre with the

the Rutili, and beſieged Ardea.

TARQUIN would make good his expences by the riches of that people, and by ranſaking that Citie, reunite his ſouldiers hearts, who were not well ſatisfied in their having changed their ſwords into mattocks; and the emptying of their enemies boſome of bloud, into emptying of ſinkes.

When the Treaſury is emptied by magnificent expences, it is filled againe by wicked meanes.

Some Philoſophers have held it good that Cities ſhould be poore, that they might bee ſafe; they would have them ſhunne envie, which hardly can bee ſhund without falling into the hands of compaſſion. It is better being rich than poore; riches may at any time bee left, but not povertie: The worſt that can befall a proſpering Citie,

is

is the happineſſe which they wiſh it; theſe are things which heard of *è cathedra*, make men lowre; but out of the Schooles provoke to laughter. If riches move deſire, they are likewiſe a help to defence. For one time that a Prince is incited to invade States for the increaſe of his revenues; he is a thouſand times ſpurd thereunto, out of a deſire to inlarge his bounds. War is not uſually good merchandize, whereby to become rich, but whereby to become great; more is conſumed in the acquiring, than the thing acquired is worth; the gaine is alwayes uncertaine, the loſſe certaine.

Whilſt they were beſieging of Ardea, which ſiege was more tedious, than otherwiſe troubleſome; Collatine, *and other young*

young men, supt one night with Sextus Tarquin, *and warmed with overmuch wine, there grew a contention amongst them concerning their wives, each prayfing his owne above the reſt: they reſolve to goe finde them out forthwith, that they may bee certaine of the truth.*

WIne moleſts the fancie, by ſending up into the braine many groſſe vapours; it bounds them not, becauſe they are humid; it agitates them, becauſe they are hot; and whilſt by its ſteame it repreſents many fancies, it affords occaſion of ſpeaking much,

and

and considering nothing; it is good to make mens hearts bee knowne, but not their braines: where there is no cold, there is no judgement; where no drineſſe is, there is no weighing of words.

Men are all prone to thinke well of their wives; whether it proceeds from their husbands great deſire that they ſhould bee ſuch, or from their cunning in appearing ſuch; or from the gift of Nature, which is never wont to be defective in things neceſſary: for I am of opinion, that if all things were knowne in them as they are, and not much beleeved of them, which is not, either more libertie ought to be allowed to women, and ſo change the law of honour; or if the former ought to be preſerved, the latter ought more ſtrictly to bee reſtrained; ſince through the miſ-fortune of the generall, there are very few of them that are good, and through the good fortune of indi-

individuals, every man beleeves his to be one of them; whence it happens that a great part of worldly felicitie is taken upon truſt, conſiſting more in beleefe, than reall being.

Men ought not talke of their wives, no not when ſober; who ſpeakes ill of them, incurres blame, for it is the husbands fault if the wife be bad; who ſpeakes well of them, is in danger to be practiſed upon, becauſe he moves deſire; men deſire the good they poſſeſſe ſhould be knowne; and oft-times whilſt they make it knowne, they make it be poſſeſt: it is true that reall good is in its owne eſſence communicable, and by being communicated, receives increaſe; but ours, which is but an apparition, if communicated, is many times loſt. Praiſe, if it bee of any thing within us, is to bee deſired, becauſe it cannot bee taken from us; if of any thing without, or forth of us, it ought be avoi-

ded.

ded, becauſe it may be taken from us; praiſe makes it be deſired, and deſire makes us loſe it: I wonder at thoſe men who complaine of their being annoyed, when they have done all they are able to make themſelves bee annoyed: it is a great comfort, it is true, to poſſeſſe things commended by all men; but as Philoſophie, to counterpoize the vexations of the intellect, hath placed greateſt honour there, where is greateſt trouble: ſo Nature to counterpoize the pleaſure of the ſenſe, hath placed moſt danger there where moſt delight is.

Theſe young men make haſte, firſt to Rome, then to Collatia: they finde Lucretia, *not like the Kings daughters in law, feaſting and rioting; but*

but amidst her women dividing out their work, they grant her the victorie; and here being by her husband invited, a base lust ariseth in Sextus Tarquin, *occasioned as well by the chastitie as by the beautie of* Lucretia: *the looke of a lascivious man, is like the looke of a Basiliske, it kills Chastitie by beholding it.*

MEN lustfully given, cause all their senses, yea, the understanding it selfe to minister provocations for the satisfying

of that sense; beautie, birth, sweet odours, harmony, all which have nothing to doe with feeling; and which is worse, Vertue her selfe, and amongst vertues, very Chastitie, the very opposite to Lust, doe more incite thereunto: Vertue is so lovely, that she makes her selfe be beloved, yea, even by Vice: those who have written that dishonest women desire that their lovers should bee endowed with all good things, except the understanding, understood it not well, (or else I am deceived) they desire their understandings should also be good in generall, only defective in one particular.

A small matter would satisfie the necessitie of Nature, if men made it not necessary to satisfie what is not necessary; what imports it to be clad in rich array, to live in stately Palaces, to feed on dainty cates, if all cloathes cover us, all houses shelter, and all meats satisfie us? wee make necessitie become

come luſt, to delight our ſelves, yea, in the imperfections of Nature. Wee thinke not the deſire of one ſenſe ſatisfied, if the other ſenſes ſtand idle: we cannot taſte any one pleaſure, if therein likewiſe our ambition be not delighted; no vice is bounded within it ſelfe: In ſuch things Nature is not to bee blamed, becauſe they are not ſeene in thoſe who worke only according to Nature.

Many dayes paſt not, ere Sextus Tarquin *returned to Collatia, with one onely companion, not making any mention thereof to the reſt; he was fairely welcomed by her who apprehended no deceit; he ſupt, withdrew him-*

ſelfe

ſelfe to his lodging, and when hee thought that all were faſt aſleep, hee came with a naked dagger in his hand to where Lucretia lay; hee laid his hand upon her breſt; hee hath recourſe to the inſtruments of hatred, for his aſſiſtance in love; and hee who was wont by ſword to vent his angrie paſſions, knowes not how to lay it aſide in tendreſt affections; hee threatens her, hee ſpeakes her faire, and

seeing her readie rather to imbrace death, than him; readie rather to loſe her life than honour; hee ſayes he will kill ſome ſervant cloſe by her, to make her bee beleeved a foule adulteresſe. See how this wicked one threatens to bereave her of her honour, that he may bereave her of it. Lucretia *thus aſſaulted, with the ſame weapons wherewith ſhee defended her Chaſtitie, yeelded to* Tarquins *prevailing luſt.*

I For my part beleeve that *Lucretia* yeelded for feare of death, which certainly is much more fearfull, when expected from another, than when acted by one's selfe: and if this my opinion were not true, I should have much more cause to marvell at those who (under the rule of Tyrants) either despairing of life, or weary of that kinde of life, have slaine themselves. If these could not, or would not live, wherefore did they not endevour to kill the Tyrant? The danger they should have runne, would have beene the same they could not shunne, or desired to meet withall; the reward which profered it selfe unto them, was hope of living honourably, or assuredneſse not to die without glory: to say they were with-held by feare of torments, is idle: there is no torment more terrible than death; who feares not death, ought not beleeve any thing of feare to be in the world: and when hee findes

such a thing to be, he may always have recourse to the other. Nature hath not beene so niggardly towards us, as not permitting us to live as long as wee would, shee hath not at least allowed us a power of dying when wee please; if hee lives not, who breathes not, and if not to breathe be in our choyce, who will may die.

Let it then bee lawfull for men to say, that death is more horrid in the hands of an incensed man, than in our owne; and moreover, that it requires more courage, though there be lesse danger, to kill another, than to kill ones selfe; the one proceeds from animositie, the other oft-times either from the weakenesse of the braine, or poorenesse of courage; for a generous heart seldome findes the way so shut, as that hee cannot make his death glorious. It is a yeelding to Fortune, against which the couragious, till their last gaspe, fight undauntedly. How many

ſilly women are there who have ſlaine themſelves, when they durſt not have looked upon, much leſſe have abided the lookes of an incenſed man? And how many are there, who to ſhunne the enemies ſword, have throwne themſelves downe from rockes, buried themſelves in bogs, and drowned themſelves in water, without any hope of life?

Tarquin *over-joyd, departs triumphant; ſaddeſt* Lucretia *remaines overwhelmed with griefe; ſhee ſends for her father and her husband.* Spurius Lucretius *comes and brings with him* Publius Valerius; Lucius Junius Brutus *accompanieth* Collatine;

shee acquainteth them with what is past, which said, sorrowfull as shee was, I perswade my selfe shee added these like words.

AND *what could unfortunate* Lucretia *doe? if shee had died that shee might have lived chaste, you would have thought her slain for having beene unchaste. O most cruell Law of Honour, which savest not the innocent! a law never descended from Heaven, but come from the deepest Abysse of Hell.*

I who would have mine honestie knowne to all, have more studied glorie than chastitie; and whilst I sought after the name of Chaste, I am with infamie become unchaste: I thought death the worst of all evils; I thought it the cure of all misfortunes; I feared nothing, since I feared not to die, yet

now

now I was inforst to chuse life, so not to lose mine honour, and by my living have lost it.

I am resolved to die, if not for what hath already befalne mee, at least for what may hereafter happen unto mee. But what then? If I dye, I shall seeme to acknowledge I have done amisse; they will say my guiltie conscience kild mee.

If I live, you will believe I have done amisse, you will say I consented out of too much desire of life. O, of all others most unfortunate Lucretia, whose innocencie neither life nor death can justifie.

This Soule (O Collatine) whose delight was chastity, abhors now that body which is polluted; and as being wholly thine, cannot endure that that part of mee should have any longer being, which can no more bee onely thine.

The wicked wretch did never prostrate mee; it was not Lucretia, it was a Carkasse; for the Soule is not where it consents not; sinne is the off-

spring of the will, not of the body; where consent is not, there is no sinne; but I should thinke my selfe worthy of death, if he had only desired mee; and blame my selfe, though without fault, for that I pleased him.

O Beautie, pernitiously coveted by our unsound mindes, you only serve those that possesse you, that you may be desired by who possesseth you not. Fraile and fading vanitie of the bodie, whereby the eternall beautie of the Soule is sullied; who is indowed with you, or sinneth with you, or causeth sin through you.

But what was it in me that encouraged that wicked one to so great mischiefe? perhaps my honestie, which he thought greater than that of others. Most sacred honestie, art thou then become an inciter to lust? and in stead of defending, offendest? Dost thou in stead of bridling desires, egge on to fury and violence?

His heart, where cruelty is harboured, which can kill none but the innocent, is likewise a receptacle of lust, which

which can covet none but the chaste: to have what they desire, is not that the Tarquins *doe desire; they finde no pleasure where they use no force; and like Lightning, rend most where they finde most resistance.*

And whither can unfortunate Lucretia *goe for revenge? to the Kings family, who hath injured me? to mine owne friends, whom I have injured? You gods of Hospitality, it is you I call upon: but to what purpose call I on you, since you have permitted it? Revenge me, you infernall powers; but why invoke I you, who were his assistants?*

I my selfe will revenge my selfe, and will by death take greater revenge on this mine enemie, than by living.

I will dye, not to lessen my faults, but to aggravate his; not for that I have sinned, but to shew that she did not subject her selfe to sense, who voluntarily deprives her selfe of sense.

I will die, that I may not live in so wretched times, which make life a shame; and to be borne, a misfortune.

My fall shall ease your thoughts, make my revenge happie; and I, who will not live an example of dishonour to women, will die an example of fortitude to men.

This said, shee plunged a knife into her heart, and fell downe dead thereon.

The Father and Husband stood shedding unprofitable teares, over the body of Lucretia; *they compassionated that chance, which not being naturall, ought rather to have moved anger in them, and animated them to revenge, than*

have

have incited them to pittie, and bedewed them with their teares: But Brutus the punisher of teares, drawing the knife from forth the wound, wills them to take an oath to drive out the Tarquins; hee speakes not of killing them: Herein his revenge is not of large enough extent, it reacheth not to life; hee will have them sweare, not to suffer any more in Rome, any regall power: herein it extends

tends it selfe too farre, it reacheth to that forme, which is not in fault. But Brutus, *who hated more the Regall power, than the Kings faults, moves rather against his State, than life; more to vindicate Romes libertie, than to revenge* Lucretia.

HE who is endowed with valour and wisdome, makes his passions serve him in all his achivements; he useth vengeance as long as he knowes it usefull, and thinkes it folly to hazard both life and goods in killing of one, by whose death, nothing but the name of revengefull can be purchased.

Lucretias chance is the occasion,

not

not the cause of the commotion against *Tarquin*.

Some Writers say that *Brutus* caused her dead body bee carried into the market place: I beleeve hee first recounted the case with as powerfull exaggerations as hee could, and in the heat of his discourse, shewed *Lucretias* body: for certaine, if hee did not use this manner of proceeding, he should have used it. Sight moves more than hearing, and gradation should begin with the meanest. It is almost incredible to beleeve what great effects the representation of somewhat to the eye doth worke, when mens hearts are formerly by speech prepared in any Tragicall case. Few can forbeare from teares, it moves compassion in all, anger suddenly gets in, and oftentimes fury.

States have no greater enemie than Rhetoricke, such writings should bee burnt, and the teachers banisht, were not Nature her Mistress:

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streſſe: A wiſeman who is bold and eloquent, is an ill inſtrument for a Common-wealth.

All the Citizens of Collatia take armes, and leaving the Gates well guarded, that the newes may not bee brought to the King, they goe to Rome, where having aſſembled the people, Brutus having related the adulterie committed by Sextus Tarquin; *I beleeve he might breake forth into ſome ſuch like exclamation.*

Will

Will you still suffer this ravenous cruell lustfull Tyrant? To what end doe you bring up your sonnes? To what end give you education to your daughters? To what end doe you heape up riches? for a cruelty, which will kill them? for a lust, which will strumpet them? for an avarice, which will take them from you?

If you beare with him in hopes that hee may change, 'tis vanitie; if because you feare him, 'tis madnesse: who shuns death, encounters with it; and who encounters, shuns it.

A Tyrant is a monster, he is by nature intended onely for a scourge to men: he workes not well to the end hee was ordained to, if hee worke not ill: nor best nor worst can be safe under him. He equally feares and hates the good of good men, and the bad of wicked; and where hee findes nothing neither to bee feared nor hated, hee despiseth lukewarmenesse.

Amongst barbarous people, where bodies governe the minde, where rationalitie

lity is in habit, not in act, where to command is slavery, to obey liberty: let there be regall power; they are people which thinke themselves free, when they are freed from the burthen of commanding.

To desire liberty and shunne servitude, is naturall to very beasts; and man seeming to be of worse condition than brute beasts, which as rationall passe by the greater delights of sense to shun subjection; hee as irrationall, passing by the better reasons of the understanding, precipitates himselfe into servitude, as if slavery were the greatest sensualitie.

The gods have made all soules equall, all bodies of the same materials; and if they endow one species with more nobleness than another, they doe not so in individuals. Wherefore shall we then make him greater than all, whom nature hath not made greater than any one?

What take you him to be? he is a man, and one who hath no more braines than other men, unlesse when he makes

us

use of other mens braines, who hath no more power than you, but only in that you obey him; shall then your owne power subject you to a braine, which is not that which governes you?

If a Common-wealth be liberty, a Kingdome is servitude; nor is it the more to be praised if it be voluntary; rather he is more to be blamed who serves out of weaknesse, than he who serves enforst by necessity.

When time requires recourse to diring, there ought no recourse be had to patience: patience doth well in generous brests, to asswage necessity, and there it becomes fortitude: In all other places 'tis basenesse of minde, unlesse it be assumed when time serves, to be laid aside when time serves.

What is't you expect? perhaps the old Kings death; perhaps yee hope better in a new succession; A good Prince is seldome followed by a better, a bad one often by a worse. Nature proceeds thus in humane things: evill of it selfe alwayes increaseth, good alwayes diminisheth. Who will make the

sonnes

sonnes better than the father [illegible] his
temperature is composed of the bloud of
two wicked ones; they are educated
by a Tyrant, borne in a commanding
Family, more proud than Tarquin,
for they are likely to bee more insuppor-
table, who brought up in good fortune,
have no reason to remember or feare
bad.

To say that good Princes ought to
bee begg'd of the gods, and to bee borne
with al be they what they please, is an in-
struction how to live, but not how to
live well; it belongs to slaves, not free
men; it hath respect rather to the reck-
lessnesse of subjects, than honour. When
a Prince cannot be made good, he ought
to be driven out bad as he is: he is not to
be suffered, who by sufferance becomes
worse.

The world is growne so corrupt, that
a good Prince is not so much as to be ho-
ped for. Wisdome makes him not be the
more esteemed, but craft; the names of
things are changed: goodnesse is ter-
med simplicitie; Tyrannie, policie: and
a Prince is thought so much the greater,

by

by how much more he hath inlarged his Empire or Authority; nor are the means examined how hee inlarged them, hee is praised onely because hee hath inlarged them.

Tarquins lust is not extinguished by Lucretias death: 'twill be more raging if it remaine unpunished. The calamities of others may be a lesson to you: 'tis true, the good which is learned by what befalls ones selfe, is counterpaised by disasters: he knowes much, to whom much hath befalne; but who can learne by another mans harme, say he be lesse wise, hee is for certaine more fortunate.

To conclude, be a Prince never so good, he ought alwayes bee feared, because hee is powerfull; and 'tis better to die soone, than to live long in feare.

Let your bosomes be no more exposed to the losse of bloud, for the increase of that City which belongs to another; by the gaines whereof you reape nothing but bloud, and wounds; are you not aware that you conquer Nations to

Tarquins

Tarquins tyranny? that by bringing others into bondage, you make your own slavery the greater; and that like wood, you augment that flame which doth consume you?

No longer suffer that your hands accustomed by deeds of fame to bring home glorious triumphs, wherewithall to adorne the Capitoll, be practised in sordid labour, and emptying vaults of soule uncleanesse.

Goe to, Citizens; deceive your selves no longer through ignorance of your selves; hence forward, know your owne strength; loyter no longer in an enterprise, which can by nothing be made difficult, but by loytering. Now that you have one to lead you, you will not want followers. First motions against a Tyrant are difficult; to move is to overcome: 'tis hard to finde a leader; every one will follow, a leader being found. All mens wills are alike opposite to Tyrants, they are not alike shewne because all are not alike daring. Ile be your head to drive out your King, your companion in forming of a Com-

mon-

mon-wealth, the first in danger, the last in happinesse.

Brutus his words make a sudden impression in the people: hee who would have them follow him, needs no other bait than the name of liberty. For ought I know 'tis a word of inchantment, which hath not its force within, but without its selfe, for I know not what it is.

If by libertie bee intended a power of doing what one will, 'twill turne to licentiousnesse, and that government which hath most thereof, will be worst. If thereby be meant a power of doing what is convenient, it needed not be parted from Principality, under which what is convenient hath no lesse place, than under a Common-wealth: and if thereby bee understood a power of commanding others, 'tis so much lesse for the common people which obey, by how much their servitude is extended to a number of masters: but 'tis but a Chimera,

Chimera, which men faine unto themselves, to bring their wils to passe, and oftentimes to sweeten the beginning of a bitter servitude. Barbarous people come sometimes to that height of ignorance, that though their feet be shackled, they thinke their libertie consists in the tongue.

The opinion which was held of *Brutus* his foolishnesse, stood him in good stead; they thinke it forebodes something, to heare one speake so well, who they hardly did beleeve could speake; his speech was then of so much more force, by how much it was formerly thought full of weaknesse: they looke for no cunning in a man, whom they judge in his *puris naturalibus*.

Men who are accounted very wise, are by their wisedome greatly injured: men either hearken not to what they say, or weigh not what they hearken to. Every word breeds doubts; they thinke demon-

demonstrations to bee the deceits of knowledge, and not the efficacie of truth: as if knowledge were a kinde of leger de maine which cozeneth the eye-sight. By reason of this fatalitie of not beleeving the advice of the wise, so many men, families, Commonwealths, and kingdomes runne to ruine.

Brutus departs; and at the same time (but by another way) when he goes to the armie, where hee is with applause received, Tarquin comes to Rome, where as an exilde man hee is repulst.

'Tis

'TIs easie to shut the doore against one that is abroad, but 'tis hard to drive one out that is within. 'Twas observed as a maxime by a wary Tyrant, and 'twas written by a discreet writer, that the Metropolis of the Empire is never to be abandoned for whatsoever cause.

Hee who is upon the place, sees the originall of tumults; and because beginnings are usually weake, he easily hinders their proceedings, who with courage and without delay, makes head against them.

Many things in the world resemble smoake, their beginning is but small, their end great; and many resemble the wind, whose beginning is boysterous, and end weake. Hee saves himselfe from the former who suffers them not to increase, from the latter hee who suffers them to blow over: progresse of time may bee expected in the one, where the other

ought

ought to be smothered in the cradle. Melancholy men are apt to overcome such difficulties as are strongest in the beginning; cholericke men, such as gather their force by peece-meale.

Tarquin retires towards the Tuscans, and is followed by two of his sonnes. His youngest sonne Sextus *flyes to the Gabins, where in stead of being received, he was slaine.*

A Tyrant either stands on the top of the wheele, or fals to the bottome; his fortune findes no meane where to take footing; the wheele no sooner turnes, but hee fals headlong downe. The Gabius who formerly did receive him, when clad like a Lambe

which flyes from the Wolfe, now knowing him better, opened their gates, not to save him, but to shut him up. His fate leads him thither, where hee hath trespassed, that those who were injured might revenge themselves: he flyes from one who expels him, and goes to another who kils him.

Sextus *betakes himselfe to the Gabins, for though he hath lost that force and reputation, which made him be feared and esteemed, yet hee thinking himselfe rather beloved by them, than but tolerated, not having lost those qualities which hee thought*

 desi-

desirable, returnes to them.

THe Tyrant who heares himselfe flattered, thinkes himselfe beloved; hee thinkes his being had in reverence, to bee the fruits of his wisedome, and because hee makes away with all those whom hee hates, he thinkes nothing remaines for him but love; hee seeth himselfe honoured, and beleeves hee doth deserve it; not knowing that it proceeds from his cruelty, not worth.

And wherewithall are men easilier deceived, than by being honoured? They suddenly imagine in themselves some merit to which it is due; and though sometimes they know they deserve it not, they are so infatuated with the desire that the reverence done them should bee reall and not fained, as they rather be-

leeve he that honours them is himselfe deceived, than that he deceives them.

This is the greatest of all affections, the last, which departs not but with the last breath; common to both good and bad, affected likewise by those who seeme not to value it.

Observance, reverence, humble bowings of the body, are inchantments, are adulations, which are often done with the feet; and are so much worse than those which are done by the tongue, by how much they seeme to be more lawfull, by how much they are more concealed. The honour therefore which Subjects use unto their Princes, ruines them; for they whom for our owne interests we honour, beleeve it done for their deserts; and honour being indeed the reward of vertue, they are not aware that sometimes too it is yeelded to Titles and Riches.

These

These are the actions done by Lucius Tarquin *the Proud, in the progresse of his reigne of five and twentie yeares; after which* Aristocracie *was constituted.*

BRUTUS was to blame in the framing of the Common-wealth, to make it too much Aristocraticall; for had he granted in those beginnings a share of government unto the people, hee would not have necessitated them to assume the whole unto themselves; nor would he have put the Citie in danger of being lost, in those Tumults, wherein if he did not ruine the Common-wealth, he did for certaine ruine the forme of that Common-wealth. Perhaps, *Brutus* beleeved, the people would

give way to the Majestie of the Senate.

States which are maintained by Art, may well continue; if managed by intelligent Arte-men; but this but for a while; Art will bee discovered, nor can it be concealed; if it be often used: if the Cocke should tarry long where the Lion is, after having some few times beene afraid of his crowing, the Lion would devoure him: when that would bee made seene to be, which is not, it must be cunningly done, if any good successe be expected.

Hee who in the beginning of Common-wealths doth constitute the best forme, doth not constitute the most durable; when a man can climbe no higher, and cannot stay himselfe upon a point indivisible, hee must downe againe, and so doing, oftentimes precipitates himselfe. So a Common-wealth reduced to the very best forme, not able to retaine it, while

it seekes after what is naturall, it oft-times falls upon what is violent, which doth corrupt it. A man must shape his designes according to his materials, and of what he cannot make a Colossus, be contented to make a Statue no bigger than the life.

The most part of Cities, which once freed from the hands of Tyrants, have falne into them againe, have done it by reason of this: great judgement is required in th: sounding what forme a Citie is capable of; and one ought not alwayes thinke of forming there a Common-wealth; but sometimes where a Tyrant is driven forth, a King should bee erected, to shunne the ensuing of another Tyrant.

There is no man, how wise soever, who being a former, or reformer, Institutor or Law-maker, doth not commit some errours in his first Ordinations, Statutes or Lawes, which in the processe of time may

ruine his ſtructure; that Machine is onely of duration, which in the firſt appearing of errours, or in the correcting of them, runs not totall ruine.

It is apparant that the Citie of Rome, whoſe people had their weapons in their hands, and were every day verſt in the atchivement of new ſtates, did rather require a Democraticall than Ariſtocraticall government; and that not being to be withſtood by a greater force, ſhee would come to it of her ſelfe; it was therfore her great good fortune, that in approching thereunto ſhee fell not, becauſe ſhe made her approch leaſurely.

It is worthy obſervation, how the formes of ſtate require a diſpoſed matter, the which they no ſooner finde, but they introduce themſelves: it is not men which conſtitute Common-wealths, or yet Principalities, but a certaine nature or power of intereſt, which though not knowne ſuffers them not to be

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in quiet, till it hath brought them where they have a great proportion; just as it useth to befall elements, which not knowing whither they goe, being led by a naturall instinct, never are at quiet, till they arrive at that place, which though being naturall unto them, was not knowne by them. Water in its proper sphere is not heavie; and common people in their naturall forme are easily governed, nor can they bee taken out, or withheld from thence, without a not lasting violence.

Had not *Tarquin* beene driven out by *Brutus*, and had the regall power yet a little longer endured, I doe almost, nay, undoubtedly assure my selfe, that Rome had never tasted the sweets of Libertie; not for that the corruptions which were in the King, (as some have beleeved,) entring into the other members of the Citie, had disinabled her for this purpose, but because that hee would totally have

extinguished the Senate, the memory whereof being forgotten, the hope of libertie would have beene likewise lost.

Those Monarchies which are governed Monarchically, where one obeys commands, and all the rest obey; have seldome an end; but those which by meanes of a Senate are governed Aristocratically, end most commonly in an Aristocracie.

I seldome finde that the Senate of Rome hath cast away their chiefe; conspiracies would be sudden, and knowne but to a few, here they are slow, and knowne to many: the greatest harme occasioned hereby to a Prince, is the holding alwayes before the citizens eyes, the picture of Liberty; those who see it, desire it, hope for it; and when they happen upon a Tyrant Prince, there wants not some amongst them, who will adhere to the bringing in thereof.

A Senate when uncorrupted, alwayes

alwayes endevours equality, and whilst it endevours that none bee greater than other, it is true, it makes a Tyrant lyable to the danger of a Common-wealth, which may arise; but it doth almost secure him from the ambition of such as seeke after Principalitie.

But bee the effects of Senates good or bad to Princes, it is apparant that Princes cannot endure them, and that they endevour to destroy them. Some of which leaving the Titles to Magistrates, have taken away from them the substance; and these have augmented authoritie, but not secured dominion; others have assayd to extinguish the Senate, by suffering the old Senatours to die by course of nature, and not substituting new ones in their places; but this being too tedious a way, requiring the life of more than one Prince, it hath seldome succeeded well, because seldome doe two Princes succeed of the same minde. *Tarquin* had

had likewiſe this intent, and to free himſelfe from the difficultie cauſed by the length of time, hee put them to death; nor yet did this cauſe good ſucceſſe unto him: A long crueltie is, by the ſpeech of men, too long remembred, and the Prince ſooner ends his life, than his crueltie. Moreover, by reducing the Senatours to a ſmall number, where the forme of a Senate is corrupted, the forme of a conſpiracie is initiated.

There was one, who on the contrary part, did in his firſt entrance into government, at one clap put downe a whole magiſtracie, and he had good ſucceſſe in living quietly amongſt his citizens, and likewiſe in ſubduing of ſtrangers, till ſuch time as he met with greater forces than his owne: this mans caſe, becauſe it ſucceeded well, hath beene by ſome wicked men in their writings commended, and his example by ſome lewd Princes imitated; it was neither well written, nor well

imitated;

imitated; the one hath reaped little honour by teaching it, the other little profit by following it.

This did not damnifie *Cleomenes*, for he did not extinguish that Magistracie to tyrannize, but to reforme the Citie, and shewing that the *Ephori* would have hindred his right end, being of themselves wicked, that act bore rather the face of justice than crueltie: it is not crueltie, when a good Prince puts wicked men to death, because they may not hinder his goodnesse; and if it bee crueltie, it is not mis-becomming; but then it is crueltie when a bad Prince puts good men to death, that they may not hinder his wicked proceedings. He left no desire of revenge, because it was calmly executed; nor did hee afterwards give any occasion of revenge, for that to a severe beginning, hee added a pleasing progresse: and as small present occations, have no great operation; if they be not preceded by weightie

past

past causes, so weightie past causes have no operation at all, if they want a present occasion.

Tarquin did not onely exasperate the Senate, but made the common people value him but a little, by his imploying them about buildings: which in my opinion was a great cause of his ruine.

A Prince who hath the people for his friends, let him take heed of treachery, for he may almost secure himselfe from insurrections; hee may be slaine, never driven out. I know that people, though never so much bound unto their Prince, will sometimes bee povoked by a sudden scorne, or perswaded by a man of worth. But let him take heed of tumults caused by hatred, for such are not to bee withstood, whereas those that are occasioned by a flash of anger, or fitly applied eloquence, may be remedied by discretion.

In such a case the people doe nought at all, if not in an instant; he

he who hath beene assisted by them in the act, let him feare them when 'tis done; for the act is no sooner done, than by them repented; and often times they turne themselves against him that did perswade them, either because they will revenge their Prince, or else cancell their owne shame. Water which contrary to its nature is heated, no sooner parts from what did heat it, but it returnes to its first condition: the witchcraft of Rhetorique being ended, which is not long a doing, or the fire of anger being over, which suddenly vanisheth; nothing remaines in the common people but shame, for having appeared against a benefactor.

He who writ of so many things, and writ so masterlike in all, for the maintaining of Tyranny, praises the imploying of the people about building; and yet this was perhaps the cause why *Tarquin* lost his: nor was this onely caused by their

their being rather sordid than magnificent, but likewise by the difference between taking people from a chargeable idlenesse, imploying them in a usefull labour, and the taking of them from the molestations of warre, imploying them in the labours of the mattock. Nothing makes the troubles of warre more supportable, than the rest and quiet which is hoped for at home; nor is there any thing encourageth more to fight against enemies, than hope of acquiring glory amongst friends: 'tis strange then, that rest after warre should bee greater labour, and the glory thereof turned to shame.

The examples alledged by that author, are either of barbarous people, their Princes slaves, and who know no other glory, than their belly: or else of Tyrants, who having usurped the libertie, wherein the people had a large share, had reason rather to feare the peoples leasure times, than the hatred of

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the great ones. But the Romans were civilized subjects, not slaves, accustomed to warre, wonted to victory, lovers of repose, when it did not repugne their glory: but *Tarquin* had not usurped the peoples libertie, but had rather freed them from the oppression of great ones, over whom till then, he was only Tyrant.

Pride likewise had her share in *Tarquins* losse: by pride Princes thinke to shun contempt, and they meet with hatred; they thinke thereby to become majesticall, and they become detested; Majestie requires mildnesse, not pride; which is signified by them, who did assigne both these, as inseparable qualities, to the Easterne beames of *Jupiter*. But this is a vice almost not to bee separated from great ones; there is nothing makes us more beleeve, that the sinne of the chiefest Angel in heaven was pride, than because he was chiefest. Astrologers (suppose their art be vaine) have

have not withstanding united pride to greatnesse, whilst they make the Sunne in regard of manners, the infuser of pride, which in regard of dignity, they make the dispenser of principalities.

But to what end doe I continue numbring up his errours, if his whole life was one compact error? Hee could not maintaine Tyranny by goodnesse, accosting it to Monarchie, nor yet by craft, keeping it farre distant from Monarchie: hee was more rash than politique, more wicked than warie; he lived ill himselfe, hee brought up worse sons; and being himselfe a wicked King, he left no hopes of a good successour.

I deny not but that he was a valiant Captaine, but to what purpose? If warre be to a Tyrant pernicious, either hee commits the trust thereof to others, and incurs danger of him who commands the armie, or else hee goes himselfe in person, and runnes in danger of

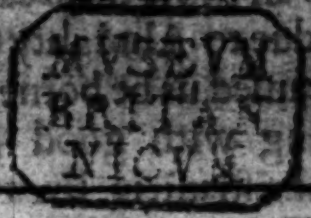
those

those who stay behinde. Hee who praiseth a warlike Tyrant, would (it may be) understand it of one that had beene so, or at least of one that did not only wage warre with City armes, but likewise with those of strangers, wherewithall hee might bridle a tumultuating Armie, or oppresse a City that should rebell.

I cannot conclude this my discourse better, than by calling to minde to all those that reade it, the thankes due to Almighty God, for having caused us be borne in times abounding with good Princes, when Christianitie lives happie, void of Tyrants. The most holy, most wise, and most loving head whereof exalted above others, like to the brasen Serpent, is of power and force to free us from the bitings of such Serpents, if they should arise: and because God doth sometimes permit Tyrants, for the chastisement of mankinde; to see that all his people are this day

day governed by excellent Princes makes me beleeve, that the world (whatsoever others thinke) is not now worse than it hath beene, and that if there be some wicked men that irritate his Justice, there bee likewise some good, that excite his mercy. The which mercy I pray, and humbly tyme to pray againe, that it will please his divine goodnesse, to make us partakers of

now, and in the houre of death.



FINIS.